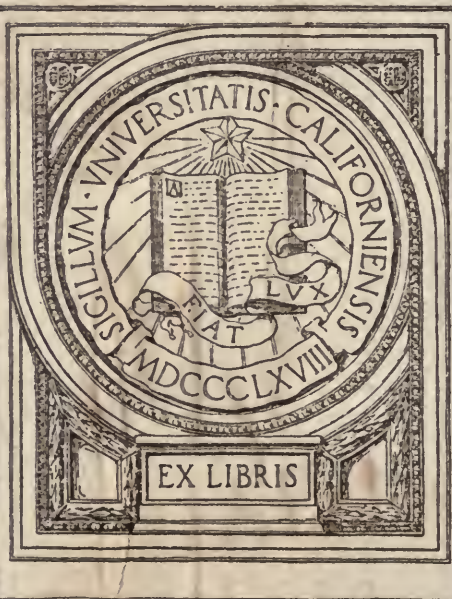




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THE ANDROS TRACTS.

VOLUME THIRD.



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CRESCENTIUS MATHERUS.

S.T.P. Obiit Aug. 23. 1723. Aetatis suae 85.

Vander spirit pinxit.

R. White Sculp. Londini.



THE ANDROS TRACTS:

BEING A COLLECTION OF

PAMPHLETS AND OFFICIAL PAPERS,

ISSUED DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE OVERTHROW
OF THE ANDROS GOVERNMENT AND THE ESTAB-
LISHMENT OF THE SECOND CHARTER OF
MASSACHUSETTS.

Reprinted from the Original Editions and Manuscripts.

WITH NOTES BY W. H. WHITMORE.

Boston:
PUBLISHED BY THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1874.



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INTRODUCTION.



THE third volume of these Tracts is but a continuation of the discussion of the matters comprised in the first two volumes. No opportunity arises for the memoir of a new character, for the chief actors are still Andros, and Increase Mather. We may, however, be allowed here to say that the criticisms upon the preceding volumes have not shaken our belief that the view we have taken in regard to Andros will be found to be nearer the truth than are the current ideas as to his acts and character. We regard Andros as an able and conscientious agent of the Crown, by no means rapacious or over-bearing, a good soldier and administrator, and the first official who saw the political advantages to be derived from alliances with the Indians to counteract French intrigues. It was his misfortune that, being a Churchman, he was sent to the stronghold of Congregationalism; that, as the agent of the Crown, he was made governor over a number of disfranchised colonies; that, as a soldier and a courtier, he was placed in a community in which the Puritan clergy still usurped a commanding

manding influence. We may add, that it was the peculiar misfortune of Andros to encounter in Increase Mather a man of equal ability and more fervent convictions. It was undoubtedly fortunate for us that Mather succeeded ; and that, instead of the great single dominion of New England, New York, and New Jersey, over which Andros ruled, the system of small, independent, and discordant colonies was revived. We cannot doubt that the change which resulted from the overthrow of the first charter, and from the long contests with the Crown, was beneficial in the end to the character of the colonists. Still more evident is it that it is unworthy in us, after our ancestors won in so great a contest, to continue to repeat the slanders which were bred in the midst of the conflict. It seems far better to acknowledge that Andros, at least, was neither a fool nor a rascal ; but that he acted firmly and wisely to carry out the scheme of creating a great northern dominion, without unduly oppressing his enemies, and certainly without causing the slightest stain upon his character. That the subordinate agents of his government — men appointed by the Home authorities, and beyond his control — may have been guilty of petty extortions and abuses of power, is very probable. But the fact remains, that Andros — in the time when the Papists had suffered from the fury inspired by the pretended Popish plots, when the ignorant followers of Monmouth had afforded the chance for the ferocious brutality of Jeffreys, when the Covenanters of Scotland were hunted like wild beasts — Andros neither killed nor imprisoned. In a community which had freely exercised the power of killing
or

or banishing those who disputed its rules of political or theological belief, — a community which banished those who reviled its charter, and which hung those who blasphemed against its church, — Andros, so far from assuming the part of an avenging administrator of its own bad laws, appears only as the unwelcome tax-collector. Except the one ridiculous struggle as to whether an Episcopal church shall be allowed here, the whole burden of complaint is in regard to matters of money. Surely, then, it is well to cease complaining about the tyranny of Andros; and to dwell with more reasonable satisfaction upon the fact that, however able and upright he was, he was overcome and driven away by greater ability, sincerity, and patriotism.

In our three volumes are collected all the pamphlets relating to the Andros period, so far as we have knowledge of them, with one exception. In our second volume, p. 203-221, is printed the pamphlet entitled "New England's Faction discovered being an answer to a pamphlet entitled 'News from New England, &c.,' 1690." As the writer of the "Faction Discovered" replies in detail to the "News, &c.," we can form an idea of its contents, and can safely say that this "News" was a different pamphlet from any in our collection. Thus far, however, all searches for this pamphlet have been useless; and we can only hope that it may hereafter be found.

In the present volume, we may call attention especially to the three very rare pamphlets, Nos. 1, 2, and 7. Of these, the "Considerations against the Charter" and the "Abstract
of

of Laws of New England " were referred to in our second volume, and are reprinted from copies in the British State Paper Office, possibly unique. The "Appeal to the Men of New England" is also of considerable bibliographical value, as being heretofore unknown, and as being the precursor of the "Further Quæries" printed in our first volume. A very few papers have been reprinted from the New York Documents, edited by J. R. Brodhead, Esq. Some sixty pages are given to a reprint of a part of Cotton Mather's Life of his father, Increase Mather. The portion thus selected covers the whole period of Mather's political sojourn in England; and, though we had before availed ourselves of many of the facts, our readers will no doubt be glad to have an exact reprint of the original narrative. As annotations to the text of this part, we have freely used that portion of Prince's collection of papers which elucidated the account; using therefor the copies printed in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The numerous documents in the archives of the State have been again put under contribution to complete our volume. Most of our extracts refer directly to the pamphlets reprinted; a few others have been selected as giving curious bits of information in regard to the period.

As illustrations to this volume, we have reproductions, by the heliotype process, of two engravings made from the same portrait of Increase Mather. The one engraved by Sturt is reproduced from a copy printed by the same process, some years ago, at the suggestion of J. Hammond Trumbull,

Trumbull, Esq. We are unable to state in what form the original appeared, though possibly it was used as the frontispiece to some book. The same plate by Sturt was used for the portrait prefixed to Cotton Mather's *Life of Increase Mather* (the "Parentator," which we have copied); but in this impression the last line has been altered to read, "Ætatis suæ 85, 1724." The figures "85" and "1724" are new; and the little line of dots under them is wanting on the "Parentator" plate, showing the alteration. We have preferred to give the earlier form of the plate.

The other engraving, from the same painting, is by R. White, and is of value as showing the name of the painter, Vanderspirit. The original engraving is prefixed to a book entitled "Memoirs of the Life of the late Reverend INCREASE MATHER, D.D., who died Aug. 23, 1723. With a Preface by the Reverend *Edmund Calamy*, D.D. London: printed for John Clark and Richard Hett at the Bible and Crown in the Poultry, near Cheapside, M DCC XXV. Price 1s."

The painter of this portrait was probably John Vander Spriett, or Vanderspirit, of whom SPOONER writes that "he studied under Verkolie, at Amsterdam, and executed a few indifferent portraits. He went to London, where he died about 1700." We may fairly conclude that the portrait was painted during Mather's official visit to England, about 1690.

As to the engravers, the same authority (Spooner) states that JOHN STURT "was born at London in 1658, and died there

there in 1730. He was a pupil of Robert White, and his chief excellence consisted in engraving ornamental letters." "ROBERT WHITE, an English designer and engraver, born at London in 1645, and died in 1704. He was a pupil of David Loggan, for whom he designed and engraved several architectural views. He engraved an immense number of portraits of distinguished personages, from his own designs, and after Kneller, Vandyck, and other eminent painters. Most of his plates are executed with the graver, in a neat, clear style. They are chiefly valued for their subjects and their excellent likenesses. He also engraved a few heads in mezzotinto; but they are far inferior to his other prints. . . . At his death, a printseller purchased his plates, and realized a fortune from them." His son, George White, was also an artist and engraver. He flourished from 1700 to 1732. It will be noticed that this White engraving is clearly from a plate different from the Sturt one. Yet, though signed "R. White," if the date be that of the engraving (which it does not purport to be), the artist could not be the famous Robert White, who died twenty years before.

The most plausible solution which we can offer is this: 1st. That Robert White did engrave a portrait before 1704, and that this either had no date or one corresponding with such publication. 2nd. That in 1719 a copy was made by White's pupil, Sturt; and the plate was sent to this country, to be used either for sheet-impressions or for the illustration of some book. 3rd. That Sturt's plate was corrected as to date in 1724, and prefixed to the "Parentator;" but this might have

have been done as well in England, if the plate remained there instead of being sent here. 4th. That White's plate received a dated inscription, which must have been put on after 1723, for the purpose of being used in this second Life of Increase Mather; which, of course, would be perfectly compatible with the idea that the plate was White's work.





[Confiderations againft the Charter,

PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT IN 1689, DURING THE DISCUSSION
ABOUT THE CORPORATION BILL.]



PREFATORY NOTE.

IN presenting the following two tracts as a part of the Andros and Mather controversy, it is proper to state that the discovery of these rare pamphlets has modified or corrected the views I expressed in the preface to the second volume of this collection.

I withdraw the supposition there made (Preface, p. xv.), that Mather published his "New England Vindicated" in 1688, during the reign of James II.

It is clear that the following two tracts appeared before "New England Vindicated" (Tract No. 8 of vol. ii.), and that this latter was followed by No. 10, "A Short Discourse." Yet it seems very certain that these pamphlets were called forth by the action of Parliament in 1689, when there was a bill for the general restoration of charters, commonly known as the Corporation Bill.

I therefore amend my previous conjectures (vol. ii. pp. xv. xviii. xx.), and place the "Miseries of New England" first, and "New England Vindicated" second in date among Mather's publications in England. This also agrees exactly with his own words, quoted in our second volume, p. 2, that he published the Narrative of the Miseries of New England, and *afterwards* wrote a First, Second, and Third Vindication of the people there.

These three Vindications would be: the first, our Tract No. 8 of vol. ii., "New England Vindicated," appearing in 1688; the second would be our Tract No. 11 in vol. ii., entitled "A Brief Relation of the State of N. E.," published in 1689; and the third would be "A Vindication of New England," 1690, which is Tract No. 5 in that volume.

Late in 1690, Mather prepared his "Reasons for the Confirmation of the Charters," which is No. 15 of our second volume.

The following Tract was copied by Mr. Sainfbury from the printed document in the State Paper Office; the reference being to "New England B. T., vol. i. p. 247." He adds that on p. 290 he finds what he believes to be the original draft in the handwriting of Sir George Treby, Attorney-General. In the notes, all the important alterations will be pointed out, our text following the printed text.



CONSIDERATIONS

HUMBLY OFFERED TO THE

PARLIAMENT,¹

SHEWING

That those Charters relating to the Plantations were taken away upon quite different reasons from those in England, these Charters being seized for the abuse of their Power, in destroying not only the Woollen and other Manufactures but also the very Laws and Navigation of England, and making themselves as it were Independent of this Crown.¹



ALL his Majesties Plantations in America have been either discovered or peopled under the encouragement of Charters from the Crown of England, and several great powers and privileges have been granted to Proprietors and Corporations, with restrictions nevertheless that they should depend on the Crown, and as they have their Protections from thence and from Old-England, so it was always understood that those Privileges, and especially the powers of Government, should be exercised so by the particular Proprietors and Corporations, as not to prejudice the interest of England; but upon all occasions procure the benefit and be created by the authority residing in England; and as often as the Proprietors and Corporations have acted contrary hereunto, their Powers have been questioned and set aside. So the Great Charter of Virginia in the year 1632 was voided

¹ Instead of this clause the original draft has, "upon the Act for restoring more particularly relating to the Massachusetts Bay in New England." the Charters to all the Corporations

voided and the Government of that Colony has ever since rested in the Crown. So the Charter and Propriety of the Earl of Carlisle, which made him absolute Lord of the Carribee Islands, was call'd for at the Council Board in the year 1663 and there surrendered. So the Charters for the New-found-Land in divers Reigns, as they became prejudicial to the fishery, which is of so great importance to England, was set aside. So were many other Charters annulled in the reign of King Charles the First and King Charles the Second, vacated by Quo Warrantos or otherwise, it not being thought reasonable that while they enjoyed all other advantages equally with their Native Country of England, they should abuse the priviledges granted them² by exporting Wool and other materials for manufacture, besides Tobacco and Sugar &c. to France, Hamburg, Holland, and other places in Europe, and importing back from those places not only Linnen but Woollen and all other Manufactures, (which should be of the English growth), Custom free; and this not only for their own consumption, but also supplying therewith most parts of the World, particularly the English Plantations, which according to the Act of Navigation ought to be supplied from Old England, after Customs paid in and out, whereby they were enabled to bring those goods £50 per cent Cheaper to their market there, than our Merchants could: which Trade encouraged their building some hundreds of ships which were employed in those illegal trades, to the ruin of the English Navigation, and tho their ships built there, by our Law were as free as those built here in England yet not above ten of them all do yearly come directly for England, but were employed so indirectly as aforesaid.²

For these³ and many such like weighty considerations and
other

² Instead of this, the draft reads: "by the Crown, either by supplanting the trade of this Kingdome and defeating the Acts of Parliament for the encouragement thereof, or by exercising other powers inconsistent with the Government of England."

³ The draft reads only "reasons."

other practices inconsistent with the interest and government of England,³ in the last year of the reign of King Charles the Second the Charter of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay was vacated upon a Scire Facias: Proof having been plainly made, as it may be again when it shall be necessary, of their assuming the regal power of coining many and different species of silver, giving a baser alloy than is practised in England; Their making Laws and putting them in execution for imposing Taxes upon the shipping and Manufacture of England coming into their Ports, discouraging as much as in them lay the Trade of the English thereby to render the shipping of their own Built the more valuable and restraining and discountenancing the execution of the Acts of Parliament by their Printed Laws. Their imposing an Oath of Fidelity to their Commonwealth as their Law Books terms it. Cal. 14.
& Cal. 25.

Their incroaching upon the neighbouring Colonies, possessing themselves in a hostile manner of the Propriety of others not subject to their Government, and upon complaints, petitions and orders at the Council Board, giving no redress, but even affronting and contemning the authority of the Commissioners appointed by King Charles the Second to determine the Appeals of others against the invasions of that Colony.

Their making Laws against all other opinions in religion except that of the Congregational Churches, and more especially against that of the Church of England.

Their treating ill the Captains of the King's Ships in time of War for desiring permission to recruit themselves with men and victuals, in order to pursue the King's service in the protection of his subjects in those parts, particularly those belonging to the Fishery.⁴

Their

³ See previous page; the altered clause runs from ³ to ³. many of the English seamen had withdrawn themselves thither to avoid serving the King in his wars at home.

⁴ The MS. adds: "Notwithstanding

Their entertaining Pirats and encouraging them to come and victual there.

In the mean time they remain free from all the Taxes and Impositions which now or at any other time are laid upon England, without contributing in any manner to the aid of the Crown, or even to their own protection or support.

The people of New England in general are better satisfied with the present Government, there being only some men in former authority that desire the restoring the Charter; And if they shall be at liberty again to exercise their unlimited and arbitrary power, they will draw⁵ the inhabitants and especially the labouring and manufacturing People of England, who will find it more easie to live there than in their native Country; and as the same Manufactures are now carried on there that are set up in England, so by this farther encouragement as they will not depend in Government, so they will carry on a separate Trade to the palpable impoverishment of England,⁶ and highly prejudicial as well as contrary to the Laws thereof.⁶

The restoring of this Charter will also be of very great advantage to the French, who border upon New England and will daily make incursions upon them, which they will be the better enabled to do by such a dis-union of this and the many other Colonies of New England and their independancy upon the Government of Old England.

Nor was the Charter first prosecuted in the late King's reign, but in the reign of King Charles the I., tho' no judgment was recorded, the Wars preventing till the reign of King Charles the II. Neither was it done then upon the late measures, but upon other important reasons of State, some of which are above mentioned.

Upon the dissolution of this Charter, the illegal trade so notoriously

⁵ The MS. has "drein," and the word should probably be "drain."

⁶ Not in first draft.

notoriously carried on by the people of New England, was then stopt; which when they found, and that they could not trade but upon even terms with others of His Majesties subjects,⁷ some of the inhabitants of New England⁷ brought over several indications of Mines of Copper &c. which they had discovered some years since,⁸ but were not arrived to estate enough to operate the same themselves; and being prevented in their former trade were willing to take in partners here in England, with whom they joined in a petition to the late King James⁹ to be incorporated with certain privileges & immunities the better to enable them to go on with the Undertaking: which was graciously received and in all probability had been accomplished before now, had not the late Revolution hapned, several of His Majesties subjects having subscribed a fond of near £100,000 for carrying on the work, and have already expended considerable sums of money upon experiments and to obtain a Charter of Incorporation.

But since the vote passed in the House of Commons for the restoring of Charters and Corporations to the same state and condition they were in the Year 1660, the New England men hoping thereby to be restored to their old Government, whereby they might re-assume their former power and with the same freedom as heretofore, prosecute their former illegal trade. They have withdrawn themselves from any further solicitation for the Charter for working the Copper Mines, pretending that when their old Charter is restored the King has no immunities to grant; But if the Partners will go on, they must petition their Government for it; proposing that the Company for the management thereof, (which was

⁷ "Several eminent merchants of that place," in MS.

⁸ MS. adds: "for the working whereof they published their propofals for a joint stock for such persons as were willing."

⁹ This shows that this tract was printed after the Revolution in England.

was intended to reside here and would have brought in a considerable profit as well to His Majesty in his Revenue as to the whole Nation) should reside in New England; and that all the Stock should be at their disposal, which will wholly overthrow the Undertaking. For that such as having Estates in England are concerned in their undertaking will never agree that their Stock shall be transported to parts so far remote and under a Government so independent upon the Crown as New England will then be. Whereas should this Undertaking succeed, and the Mines prove as good as by the many experiments the Undertakers have made of them, may be reasonably expected, that Plantation would more enrich this Kingdome than all His Majesties Dominions besides.

¹⁰ If these people be not prevented of their old way of Trade, they being so large and fruitful a Country must necessarily in a short time destroy the trade of England, by improving those Manufactures which the chief trade of England depends on, and they do in some measure already effect it: And this cannot be done if they have the Government in their own hands, but may with ease be performed by the King's superintendancy, whose Officers may have such instructions as shall divert them from all prejudicial trade, and encourage such as may redound as well to theirs as to the advantage of Old England; and nothing can be thought of comparable to their Mines, which will occasion reciprocal returns and serve them as a staple Commodity, of which they now have none.

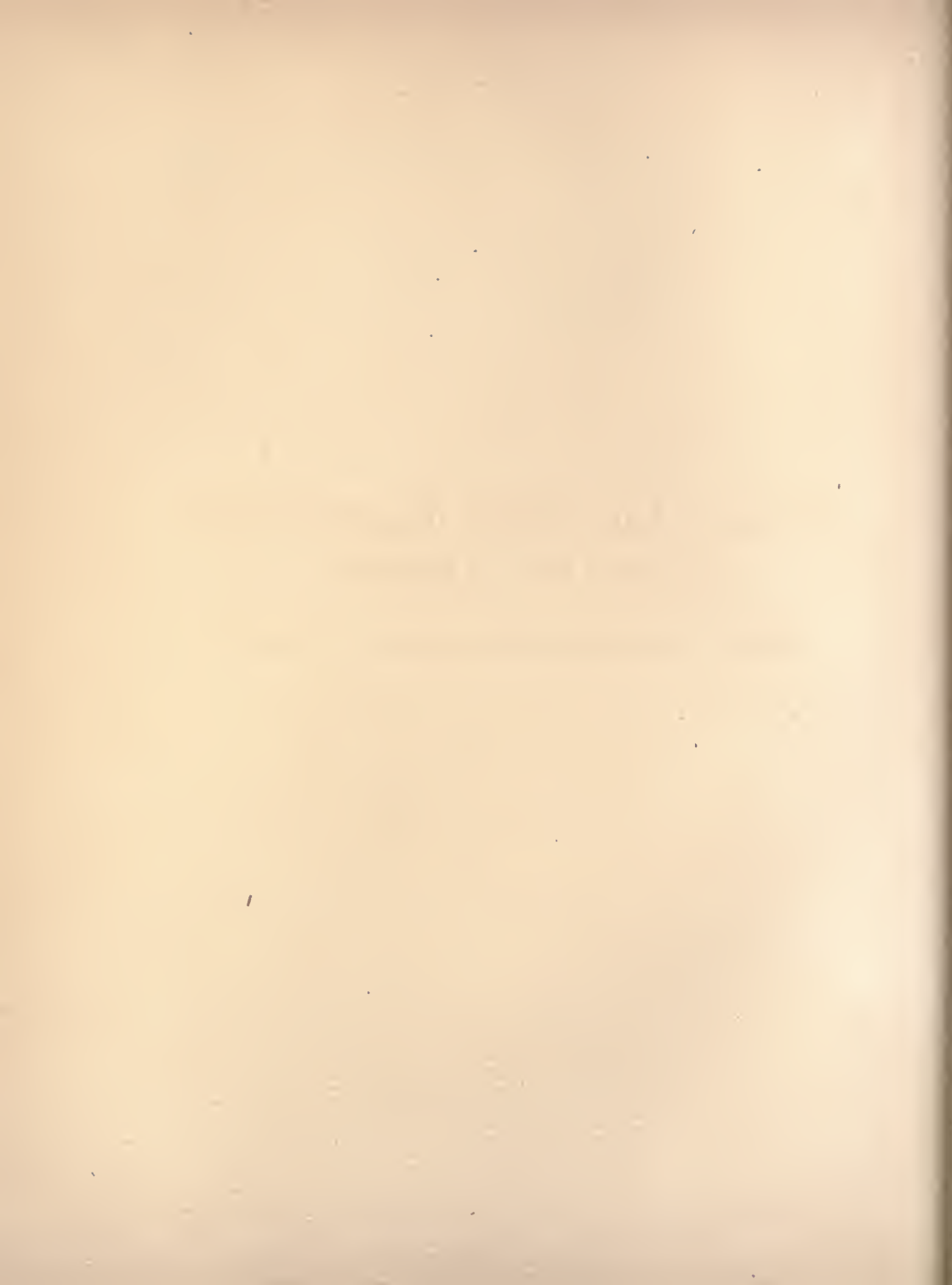
Should the Charters for Plantations be restored, as they were in the Year 1660, then all those Grants made by any of the King's Governours since such Charters were seized, would revert to the old Government, and many families ruined thereby, they having laid out their substances in subduing or clearing such tract of grounds as the Governours granted

¹⁰ All this long section is omitted in the first draft.

granted them, and built upon them paying only such a quit rent yearly to the Crown.¹⁰

It is desired That the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, their Law Book, and the Acts of Trade and Navigation, of the 14th and 25th of King Charles the II. be read.

¹⁰ See previous page.



[Abstract of Laws of New England, contrary
to the Laws of England.]

Printed in 1689, during the discussion about the Corporation Bill.]



THE following pamphlet was copied by Mr. Sainfbury from one in the State Paper Office (reference, New England, B. T., vol. i. p. 249), and is evidently the one referred to on p. 122 of our second volume. The recovery of this very rare tract will be undoubtedly a gratification to our readers.





AN ABSTRACT OF SOME OF THE
Printed Laws of New England

Which are either contrary, or not agreeable to the Laws of *England*, which Laws will immediately come in force, in case the Bill in Parliament for the restoring the Charters of the Plantations doth pass, and are not controllable, by any authority in England, as they pretend by their Charters.



NO Law to be submitted to, but what is made in their General Court (the Parliament of *England* not excepted). Adultery made Capital.

Page 1.

p. 15, § 9

§ 12.

If any man conspire and attempt any invasion, infurrection or publique rebellion against our Common Wealth, or shall endeavour to surprize any Town, Fort or Forts therein or shall treacherously and perfidiously attempt the alteration and subversion of our frame of polity, or Government fundamentally, he shall be put to death.

If any man have a stubborn or rebellious Son of sufficient years of understanding (viz.) sixteen years of age, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his [m]other, and that when they had chastened him will not hearken unto them, then shall his Father and Mother, being his Natural Parents, lay hold on him and bring him to the Magistrates assembled in Court, and testifie unto them, that their Son is stubborn and rebellious, and will not obey their voice and chastisement, but lives in fundry and notorious crimes: Such a Son shall be put to death.

§ 14.

Ravishment

§ 15.

p. 34.

Ravishment left to be punished by discretion of Judges. It is hereby declared, That the General Court consisting of Magistrates and Deputies is the chief Civil Power of this Common-Wealth, which only hath power to raise Money and Taxes upon the whole Country and dispose of Lands, (viz.) to give and confirm Proprieties, appertaining to, and immediately derived from the Country, and may act in all affairs of this Common-Wealth according to such power, both in matters of Counsel, making of Laws, and matters of judicature, by impeaching and sentencing any person or persons according to Law, and by receiving and hearing any complaints, orderly presented against any person or Court.

p. 43, 55, 56.

None to be admitted to the freedom of their Commonwealth unless of their Church and in full communion, and members of their Church.

By which it appears, that that part of the Bill for restoring Charters set forth in the preamble, (viz.) the Encouragement of the Established Religion, will not be answered, but on the contrary, by restoring the Charters of New-England these Penal and Prohibitory Laws in Ecclesiastical matters will be revived, and the Established Religion thereby discourag'd or wholly suppressed, whereas by the vacating and Dissolution of those Charters and Laws the Established Religion was promoted.

p. 45, § 15.

p. 48, § 4.

Penalty of not coming to their Meetings five shillings. None suffered to vote in an Assembly, unless they come to their Worship.

 p. 58.

Whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas, or the like; either by forbearing labour, feasting, or any other way upon such account as aforesaid, every such person so offending shall pay for every such offence, five shillings as a fine to the County.

p. 60.

Doth hereby Order and by the authority of this Court be it Ordered and Enacted, That no Master or Commander of any Ship, Barque, Pinnance, Ketch or other Vessel shall henceforth bring into any Harbour, Creek or Cove within
this

this jurisdiction any known Quaker or Quakers, or any Blasphemous Hereticks as aforesaid, upon the penalty of the forfeiture of one hundred pounds.

Quakers banished on pain of death.

p. 61.

Several laws to encourage the Manufacture of Leather in that Country.

p. 63, p. 88,
p. 89.

Nor shall any man be compelled to go out of this jurisdiction upon any offensive wars, which this Commonwealth or any of our Friends or Confederates *as** shall voluntarily undertake, but only upon such vindictive and defensive Wars in our own behalf, or the behalf of our Friends and Confederates as shall be enterprized by the Council and Consent of a General Court, or by authority derived from the same.

p. 73.

It is therefore Ordered by this Court and authority thereof, That no Person whatsoever in this jurisdiction shall joyn any persons together in marriage, but the Magistrate, or such other as the General Court, or Court of Assistants shall authorize in such place where no Magistrate is near.

p. 102.

Memorandum. By this Law many thousands not agreeing to the reasonableness of it, live together unmarried, and great numbers of children unbaptized by reason of the like Restraints.

This Court taking into serious consideration the great necessity of upholding the *Staple Commodities* of this Country for the supply and support of the inhabitants thereof, and finding by experience, the bringing in of *Malt, Wheat, Barly, Bisket, Beef, Meal and Flower*, (which are the principal Commodities of this Country) from Foreign Parts, to be exceeding prejudicial to the subsistence of this place and people here; *Have therefore Ordered*, That no Person whatsoever either Inhabitant or Stranger, shall directly or indirectly after the first of *March* next, import into this jurisdiction from any part of *Europe*, any of the aforesaid Provisions, under

p. 106.

* *as* is clearly superfluous.


under the penalty of confiscation of the same, (except it be for the ships provisions) that shall be so imported, landed, set to sale, or otherwise disposed contrary to the intent of this order.

p. 117.

A Mint for coines of all values, set up with all its appurtenances. No notice being of the King in the Stamp or allay.

p. 119.


It is ordered, And by this Court Declared, That no man shall be urged to take any Oath, or subscribe to any Articles, Covenants, or Remonstrances of publick and Civil Nature, but such as the General Court hath considered, allowed and required. And no others to be taken, but such as are allowed by the General Court. The Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy not excepted.

p. 137  vide the Laws at large.

Whereas, the keeping of sheep tends much to the benefit of the Country, and may in short time make good supply towards the *Cloathing* of the Inhabitants if carefully preserved. And forasmuch as all places are not fit and convenient for that end, &c.

p. 141.

All ships prohibited to unload till they have acknowledged their Government, and greater impositions upon shipping of *England* than others of *New-England*.

 Vide the Laws made to regulate the Navigation and Trade.

The Execution of the Acts for Trade and Navigation made impracticable.

By which Laws and their Power and practice of making others of like nature: It appears how necessary it is that by authority residing in *England* these Northern Colonies, which are endeavouring to improve, and have already set up the Principal Manufactures and Staple Commodities of *Old England*, ought to be restrained in the point of Government and remain subject to, and immediately depending on the Crown.

[Report by Sir Edmond Andros
OF
HIS ADMINISTRATION OF NEW ENGLAND.]



"THE following interesting report by Andros of his proceedings in New England is copied from the documents relating to the colonial history of the State of New York, vol. iii. pp. 722-726; the original being preserved at London. As will be noticed, this defence was made after the return of Andros to England, and his appearance at the Council Board. No notes have been added to it, since the reader will find in our previous volumes the reply to the assertions made in this review of the transaction in New England.





SIR EDMOND ANDROS'

Report of his Administration.

[New England, V. 223.]

To the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade
and Plantations.

The state of New England under the government of Sr Edmond Andros.



THAT in the year 1686 S^r Edmond Andros was by commissi^{on} und^r the Gr^{eat}e Seale of England appoynted to succede the President Dudley & Council in the government of the Massachusetts Collony, the Provinces of Hampshire and Maine and the Narragansett Country, to w^{ch} was annexed the Collonyes of Rhoad Island New Plymouth and the County of Cornwall.

In the year 1687. the Collony of Connecticott was also annexed and in the year 1688. he received a new Commis^{ion} for all New England includeing the Province of New Yorke and East & West Jersey, with particuler order and directions to asser^t and protect the Five warlike Nations or Cantons of Indians, lying West from Albany above the heads of o^r rivers as far or beyond Maryland vizt Maquaes, Oneydes, Onondages, Caeujes, and Sennekes, as the Kings
subjects

subjects upon whom the French had made severall incursions, & to demand the setting at liberty severall of them surprized and deteyned by the French, and reparation for fundry goods taken from severall Christians His Majesties subjects in the lawfull prosecution of their trade.

S^r Edmond Andros upon receipt of his Commiſſion went to New Yorke and Albany of which the Indians having notice, altho' they were then mett in Councill about going to Canada came thither, and were settled, and confirmed und^r his government.

He forthwith signified to the Gov^r of Canada His Ma^{ties} pleasure relateing to the Indians, and made demand from him, pursuant to the above orders, and alsoe to quitt a considerable fort which by incroachment he had built at Oniagra in the Senneka's Country southward of the Lake within His Ma^{ties} dominion, about one thousand miles distant from Quebeck in Canada (notwithstanding all the endeavours and opposition made by the Govern^r of New Yorke, before the annexation) upon an advantageous pass, neare the Indians hunting places, capable greatly to annoy and awe the Indians and obstruct and hinder the trade with them; That thereupon the Govern^r of Canada did accordingly withdraw the garrison and forces from the sayd Oniagra and those parts, and did further signifie that the Indians by him taken were sent to France, but would write to the King his master about their releasement.

The severall Provinces and Collonys in New England being soe united; the revenue continued and settled in those parts, for the support of the government, amounted to about twelve thousand pounds p^r ann^m and all places were well and quietly settled and in good posture.

The Church of England being unprovided of a place for their publike worship, he did, by advice of the Councill, borrow the new meeting house in Boston, at such times as
the

the same was unused, untill they could provide otherwise; & accordingly on Sundays went in between eleven and twelve in the morning, and in the afternoone about fower; but understanding it gave offence, hastned the building of a Church, w^{ch} was effected at the charge of those of the Church of England, where the Chaplaine of the Souldiers p^rformed divine service & preaching.

He was alwayes ready to give grants of vacant lands and confirme defective titles as authorized (the late Corporation not haveing passed or conveyed any pursuant to the directions in their Charter) but not above twenty have passed the seale in the time of his goverment.

Courts of Judicature were setled in the severall parts, soe as might be most convenient for the ease and benefitt of the subject, and Judges appoynted to hold the Terms and goe the Circuite throughout the Dominion, to administer justice in the best manner and forme, and according to the lawes Customes and statutes of the realme of England, and some peculiar locall prudentiall laws of the Country, not repugnant therto; and fees regulated for all officers.

That particuler care was taken for the due observance of y^e severall Acts made for the encouragement of navigation and regulateing the plantation trade, whereby the lawfull trade and His Majestys revenue of Customs was considerably increafed.

The Indians throughout the govern^t continued in good order and subjection untill towards the latter end of the yeare 1688. by some unadvised proceedings of the Inhabitants in the Eastern parts of New England, the late rupture with the Indians there commenced, severall being taken and some killed, when Sir Edmond Andros was at New Yorke more than three hundred miles distant from that place; and upon his speedy returne to Boston (haveing viewed and setled all parts to the Westward) great part of the garrifon soldiers
with

with stores & other necessaries were immediately sent Eastward to reinforce those parts, and vessels to secure the coast & fishery, and further forces raised and appointed to be under the command of Maj^r Gen^l Winthrop, who falling sick and declining the service, by advice of the Council he went with them in person and by the settlement of severall garrisons, frequent parties, marches & pursuits after the enemy, sometimes above one hundred miles into the desert further than any Christian settlement in w^{ch} the officers and souldiers of the standing forces always employed) taking and destroying their forts and settlements, corne, provision, ammunition & canoes, dispersed and reduced them to the uttermost wants and necessities, and so secured the Countrey, that from the said forces going out untill the time of the late revolution there, and disorderly calling the forces from those parts, not the least loss, damage or spoyle hapned to the inhabitants or fishery, and the Indians were ready to submit at mercy.

About the latter end of March 1688. S^r Edmond Andros returned for Boston, leaving the garrisons and souldiers in the Easterne parts in good condition, and sufficiently furnished wth provisions and all stores and implements of warr and vessels for defence of the coast and fishery.

On the 18th of Aprill 1689. severall of His Ma^{ties} Council in New England having combined and conspired together with those who were Magistrates and officers in the late Charter Government annually chosen by the people, and severall other persons, to subvert and overthrow the government, and in stead thereof to introduce their former Commonwealth; and having by their false reports and aspersions gott to their assistance the greatest part of the people, whereof appeared in arms at Boston under the command of those who were Officers in the sayd former popular government, to the number of about two thousand horse and foote; which strange

strange and sudden appearance being wholly a surprize to S^r Edmond Andros, as knowing noe cause or occasion for the same, but understanding that severall of the Councill were at the Councill Chamber where (it being the Ordinary Councill day) they were to meet, and some p^rticularly by him sent for from distant parts also there, he and those with him went thither. And tho' (as he passed) the streets were full of armed men, yett none offered him or those that were with him the least rudeness or incivillity, but on the contrary usuall respect; but when he came to the Councill Chamber he found severall of the sayd former popular Majestrates and other cheife p^rsons then p^rsent, with those of the Councill, who had noe suitable regard to him, nor the peace and quiet of the Countrey, but instead of giving any assistance to support the Government, made him a prisoner and also imprisoned some members of the Councill and other officers, who in pursuance of their respective duties and stations attended on him, and kept them for the space of ten months und^r severe and close confinement untill by His Ma^{ties} command they were sent for England to answer what might be objected them, Where, after summons given to the p^rtended Agents of New England and their twice appearance at the Councill Board, nothing being objected by them or others, they were discharged. In the time of his confinement being denied the liberty of discourse or conversation with any p^rson, his own servants to attend him, or any communication or correspondence with any by letters, he hath noe p^rticular knowledge of their further proceedings, but hath heard & und^rstands: —

That soone after the confinem^t of his p^rson, the Confederates [took the] fort and Castle from the Officers that had the command of them, whom they also imprisoned and dispersed the few souldiers belonging to the two standing Companies then there, as they did the rest, when they recalled
the

the forces imployed against the Indians Eastward (which two Companys are upon His Ma^{ties} establishment in England,) in w^{ch} service halfe a company of the standing forces at New Yorke being also imployed, the officers were surpris'd and brought prisson^{rs} to Boston, and the souldiers disperfed, as the remaining part of them at New Yorke were afterwards upon the revolucôn there. The other company was, and remained, at Fort Albany and are both upon establishment to be payd out of His Ma^{ties} revenue there. And the Confederates at Boston posses'd themselves of all His Ma^{ties} stores, armes ammunición and other implements of warr, and disabled His Ma^{ties} man of war the Rose frigatt by securing the Comand^r and bringing her sayles on shoare; and at the same time haveing imprisoned the secretary and some other officers, they broke open the Sêcrys Office and seized and conveyed away all records papers and wrightings.

Those Members of His Ma^{ties} Council which were in confederacy with the before mencôn'd popular Majestates and other cheife actors in this revolucôn, tooke upon them the government, by the name of a Council, who not content with the inconveniency they had brought on themselves in the Massachusets Colony, but to the ruine of the poore neighbours, on the twentieth of Aprill gave orders for the drawing off the forces from Pemyquid and other garrisons and places in the Easterne parts, far without the lymitts of their Collony and where the seate of warr with the Indians was, and to seize severall of the officers, and for calling home the vessells appoynted to gard the sea coast and fishery; w^{ch} was done accordingly, and the forces disbanded when most of the souldiers belonging to the standing Companys there, were disperfed; of which, and their actings at Boston, the Indians haveing notice, (and being supplied with Amunicôn and provision out of a vessell sent from Boston by some of the cheife conspirators before the insurrection to trade with them)

them) they were encouraged and enabled to renew and pursue the warr; and by the assistance of some French who have been seen amongst them and engaging of severall other Indians before unconcerned, increased their numbers, that in a very short tyme severall hundreds of Their Maties subjects were killed and carryed away captive; The Fort at Pemyquid taken; the whole Cuntry of Cornwall, the greatest part of the Province of Maine, and part of the Province of New Hampshire destroyed and deserted; and the principall trade of that countrey, w^{ch} consisted in a considerable fishery, the getting of masts, yards &c for the supply of His Mat^{ies} navy Royall, and boards and other lumber for the supply of the other West India plantacôns, is almost wholly ruined.

By the encouragem^t and p^rswasion of those of the Massachusetts the severall other provinces and collonys in New England as far as New Yorke have disunited themselves, and set up their former separate Charter, or popular governments without Charter, and by that meanes the whole revenue of the Crowne continued and settled in the severall parts for the support of the Government is lost and destroyed.

The usuall time for election of new Majestrates at Boston coming on in the begining of May 1689. great controversie arose about the settling of Civill Government; some being for a new election, and others that the Majestrates chosen and sworne in 1686 before the alteracôn should reassume; the latter of w^{ch} was concluded on by them and the p^rtended representatives of the severall townes of the Massachusetts, and assumed by the f^d Majestrates accordingly, and thereupon the old Charter Government, tho' vacated in Westminster Hall, was reassumed without any regard to the Crowne of England, and they revived and confirmed their former laws contrary and repugnant to the laws and statutes of England, settled their Courts of Judicature, and appoynted new officers, and have p^rsumed to try and judge all cases civill and criminall, and

and to pass sentence of death on severall of Their Ma^{ties} subjects, some of whom they have caused to be executed.

Alltho in the revenue continued on the Crowne for support of the government dureing his time, the country pay'd but the old establisht rate of a penny in the pound p^r Ann^m as given and practised for about fifty yeares past; the present Administrators have of their own authority, for not above six months, rayfed and exacted from the people of the Massachusetts Collony seven rates and a half.

Since this insurrection and alteracôn in New England they doe tollerate an unlimited irregular trade, contrary to the severall acts of Plantations, Trade and Navigacôn, now as little regarded as in the time of their former Charter Government; they esteeming noe laws to be binding on them but what are made by themselves, nor admitt English laws to be pleaded there, or appeales to His Ma^{tie}. And many shippes and vessells have since arrived from Scotland Holland, Newfoundland, and other places prohibitted, they haveing imprisoned His Ma^{ties} Collector, Surveyor and searcher, and displaced other Customhouse officers.

That they sent to Albany to treat with the Indians in those parts p^ticularly with the Five Nations Maquaes &c and invited them to Boston; which is of ill and dangerouse consequence, by makeing the sayd Indians p^ticularly acquainted with the disunion and separate goverments, and shewing them the countrey and disorders therof, as far as Boston, giving thereby the greatest advantage to the French of gaining or subdueing the sayd Indians and attempting Fort Albany (the most advanced frontier into the country and great mart of the beaver and peltry trade) and of infesting other parts.

The forces rayfed and sent out by them the last summer notwithstanding the great encouragem^t they promised of eight pounds p^r head for every Indian should be killed, besides their pay, proved neither effectuell to suppress the enemy or secure
the

the country from further damage and murthers; and upon the winters approaching the forces were recalled and the country left exposed to the enemy, who have already overrun and destroyed soe great a part therof. And now by the assistance of the French of Canada may probably proceed further into the heart of the country, being soe divided and out of ord^r unless it shall please His Ma^{ties} by his owne authority to redress the same, and put a stop to the French and Indians, and thereby prevent the ruine or loss of that whole dominion of New England & consequently of Their Maj^{ties} other American Plantacôns; endangered not only by the want of provisions, but by the many ships vessells, seamen and other necessarys in New England, capable to supply and transport any force, may annoy or attempt those plantacôns; but may be by His Ma^{ties} authority and commands effectually settled and preserved, and of service against the French or any other Their Ma^{ties} enemys in those parts, with no greater land force then is necessary to be continued there, and a sufficient revenue rayfed to defray the charge thereof, by duties and rates as heretofore hath been practised amongst them and is usuall in other Their Ma^{ties} plantacôns. Humbly submitted by

E. ANDROS.

(Endorsed)

“S^r Edmond Andros’s Acco^t
“of the State of New England
“under his government.

Rec^d 27 May. 1690.”



[ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS,
Chiefly from the Massachusetts Archives.]



PREFATORY NOTE.



¹⁵ WE give in the first place a copy of Andros's charges against the Massachusetts Government in regard to its management of military matters, from a copy printed in the "Hutchinson Papers," in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3d series, vol. i. pp. 85-87. Next follows the Reply made by the Agents of the Colony. Third, papers in reference to Lieut. James Weems, whose case was brought before the Royal Council. Fourth, we give the report of the impotent conclusion of the accusations against Andros before the same Council. Fifth, we present copies of various Addresses sent by the Colonial Government to King William, as being public documents of much interest and importance, together with the Instructions given to the Agents of the Colony.





I.

Andros's Charges against the Government.

[Reprinted from Mafs. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3d Ser. vol. i. pp. 85-87.]

An Account of the Forces raised in New England for Defence of the Country against the Indians, &c. in the year 1688.....disposed into ten Companies of sixty Men each.....the several Forts built, and how the said Forces were posted at the Time of their Ma^{ts} Officers and subversion of the Government there in April, 1689.

Pemyquid.



	Men.
SETTLED garrison commanded by Capt. Antho. Brockholes and Lieut. James Weems of the standing forces,	36
A new company commanded by Capt. Ting,	60
Another by Capt. George Minot,	60
	156

Upon the insurrection, the forces being withdrawn, and only 18 of the standing companies left in garrison, the fort is since taken by the Indians and French, and the country destroyed.

New Dartmouth, i. e. New Castle, &c.

A fort commanded by Lieut. John Jordane of the standing forces,	24	84
A company of Capt. Withington's,	60	

Most of the men drawn off, and others debauched, they seized their officer and carried him prisoner to Boston, and thereupon the fort was deserted.

A

A Redoubt on Damorascotty River.

Relieved every week from New Dartmouth.

The men drawn off and place deserted.

Sacodehock, Newtown, Fort Anne, Pejepscot.

Men.

These several forts in Kennebeck River were commanded by Lieut.-Col. Macgregory and Major Thomas Savage, for which they had their own and Capt. Manning's company,	}	1.....180
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The major and most of the officers of the new forces revolted,
seized their lieutenant-colonel, drew off the forces, and thereby
deserted the several forts and river.

Falmouth.

A fort in Casco Bay, commanded by Capt. George Lockhart with his company,	}	60
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The commander seized and forces withdrawn.

Saco River.

A fort commanded by Capt. John Lloyd with his company, and a detachment of 28 men from Major Henchman and Capt. Bull,	}	88
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Kennebunk.

A fort commanded by Lieut. Puddington, but to be
relieved from Saco.

Wells.

A fort relieved likewise from Saco.

The officers and soldiers at Saco all deserted, as did others
afterwards.

Merrymake River.

A company at the Upper Plantations, commanded by Major John Henchman,	}	50
--	---	----

As also all the militia of that river.

The officers and soldiers debauched and quitted their stations.

Connellicatt

Connetticatt River.

Men.

A company commanded by Capt. Jonathan Bull
at the Upper Settlement thereof, which, and all the
militia, was under the command of Col. Robert Treat, 51
The officers and foldiers deferted their pofts.

Befides 40 men more of the ftanding companies,
detached at firft and constantly employed in that fer- } 40
vice in feveral parts, }

709

The feveral veffels employed for the fecurity of the coaft
and fifhery at that time were,

His majesty's floop Mary, John Alden commander;
The brigantine Samuel, John Wifewell mafter;

His majesty's new floop Speedwell, John Cooke com-
mander, finifhed and ready to take in ftores and provifions
for the eaftward.

There were four ftanding companies in New England —
two at Bofton and eaftern parts upon eftablifhment in Eng-
land — two at New York and Albany upon eftablifhment
there — all difperfed except that at Albany.

There was alfo, at the time of the fubverfion of the
government, provifions in the refpective places or principal
garrifons fufficed to fupply the forces for above three months,
and all ftores and implements of war neceffary for that fer-
vice.

Befides, at the ftores in Bofton and in the caftle was fifty-
four barrels of powder, and about two hundred fpare fuzees
and fnap h. mufkets, byonets, and great and fmall fhott,
hand-granadoes and all other utenfils of war.

E. ANDROS.

II.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxvi. p. 96.]

An Answer to S^r Edmund Androfs's Account
of the Forces raised in New England for Defence of the
Countrey against the Indians &c. in the Yeare 1688.

*Humbly offered by the Agents of the Massachusetts Colony
to the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for the
Plantations.*

BEGGING your Lordships leave to Observe in the
preamble of Sir Edmund Androfs's Account the
words (subversion of the Government) and after-
wards (Insurrection) which with submission Wee
take to be Expressions of Difaffection to the present and a
vindication of the late soe Illegal and Arbitrary Govern-
ment, and doe most humbly beseech your Lordships that
what was done by the people of New England, with so much
zeale and good affection, to secure the Government there
to their present Majesties, may be favourably accepted and
vindicated from such unworthy and unjust Reflections.

Upon the whole wee humbly represent to your Lordships
that the new forts built by Sir Edmund Androfs were mere
fancies of his owne, useles, (and soe esteemed by the experi-
enced Officers of the Army and others well acquainted with
the Countrey) to any purpose of Defence as was pretended,
and may be easily made [to] appeare unto your Lordships
by the Mapp of that Countrey: and consequently the draw-
ing the souldiers from thence hath been no prejudice to the
Countrey, nor hath any los or damage happened thereby,
but our frontier towns strengthened which in Sir Edmund's
time

time were not onely left naked but also severall persons threatned for fortifyeing their houses.

As to the particulars in the Account we declare as followeth.

Was a Garrison settled by Sir Edmund Andros whilst Governor of New Yorke, and in the Beginning of the present Warr put under the command of Capt. Brockholes, a Papist, and for that reason was ordered home upon the happy Revolution; which order he never observed, but afterwards being suspected to be in a plott for deserting and running over with the floope Mary to the French, was seized by the Inhabitants of Dartmouth and brought to Boston: And his Leiftenant Weems att the request of the Inhabitants left in his roome with all the standing Garrison, not a man drawn off. The other souldiers were despered by Coll. Tyng and the rest of the cheife officers, those that were sick to their owne homes, those that were fitt for service to posts that required their Assistance; there being force sufficient left as they judged to defend the fort. True it is that afterwards that fort and about twenty houses were taken and destroyed by the Indians, but it was imputed to the careless security of the Garrison, and not want of men, the Towne being surprized att noonday and noe scout abroad.

Was destroyed all but four or five houses and New Towne all but one by the Indians in the time of Sir Edmund Andros's Government, done as was supposed in revenge of Sir Edmund's seizing Monsier Casteen's house and taking thence all his arms and merchandize and household goods in time of profound peace: the said Casteen having married an Indian Sachim's daughter, and so the Indians were allyed to his Interests. The Town being destroyed and the Inhabitants sent to Boston, Sir Edmond A.'s fort was needless, there being nothing to preserve.

There being no Inhabitants there after that Dartmouth was

Pemaquid

New Dartmouth
New Towne

Redoupt on

Danrafcotty
River

was destroyed and deserted, Coll. Tyng and Major Thomas Savage, officers in Sir Edmond's army and one of them of his Counsell, advised the deserting that place. And the insignificant fort of Fort Ann, Pegipscott, &c., as useles, there being no plantation in many miles of them. Coll. Mack Gregory was seized by his owne souldiers in regard of his cruelty and severity towards them, severall for that reason having deserted him before the Revolution.

Fort Ann
Pegipscott

Sagadehock

Being a fort erected at the charge of the fishermen they withdrawing their fishery in the fall of the yeare, the Garrison was withdrawne at their owne Instance.

Falmouth in
Calcoe Bay

A fort built formerly by the Massachusetts Colonye is still continued and better furnished and provided then in Sir Edmond's time. Capt. Lockhart, a reputed Papist was by order of Counsell for that reason dismissed, and Silvanus Davis, an Inhabitant of that place and formerly Commander of that fort, put in his roome. Here it was the Indians career was stopt and they defeated by the forces raised since the Revolution by the United Colonies.

Sacoe River

fort was deserted in Sir Edmond's time for want of necessaryes and provisions for the souldiers, and Capt. Floyd himselfe made a prisoner by Sir Edmond upon his coming to aske provision for the necessarye subsistence of that Garrison.

Kennebunk

We know of no fort there.

Wells

is still well Inhabited and many houses there fortified and Capt. Willard with his Company posted there by order of Counsell for their securitye.

Merrimack
River

and many other places upon the Revolution changed the Officers they could not trust, but Major Henchman keeps both his station and command there. All our frontier Townes have had recruits sent them by order of Counsell for the security of the Country, which was much neglected and weakened in Sir Edmond's time by drawing souldiers thence to build and supply the trifling forts before mentioned.

Continues as it was, only Coll. Treaté finding no occasion for so great force as was sent thither by Sir Edmond, drew them off before the Revolution: After which that Colony reassumed their ancient Government, chose the said Coll. Treaté, Governor, and hath suffered no damage by the Indians.

The Sloope and Brigantine with other vessells pretended to be prest for his Ma^{ties} use in the service of the Country were cheifly employed to carry souldiers to and fro att Sir Edmond's pleasure. We know not that they were at all made use of for the security of the coast or fishery, or that they were fitt for that purpose or need be so employed att that season of the yeare. True it is there was great complaint that those who served with them were never payed, which made Sir Edmond's Government more uneasy.

The standing forces Sir Edmond was reputed to have brought with him to New England were about 120 men, which he posted att Pemaquid, Boston and the Castle, some of which dyed, some deserted in Sir Edmond's time: And when the warr with the Indians brake out, he took part of them att Boston and att the Castle with him for that service. What became of them Sir Edmond can best tell; we are well assured that not a man perished by the hands of the Indians, nor any Indian was hurt by them or any of his forces.

We have not an exact Inventory of the provisions and stores found in the Garrisons att the time of the happy Revolution, but can averr that the principall Garrisons were supplied from Boston: and the Men that were sent out for the Reinforcement of the Army were furnished with necessaries for warr att the charge of particular persons, and not one penny from the Treasury.

All which account aforesaid we have either by our owne Knowledge or the best Informations which were from time to

to time transmitted to the Government during our abode in New England.

The Occasion of our present Distress is the warr between the two Crownes of England and France which prevents all supplies from England, and by the Act of Navigation we cannot have them elsewhere. That as our stores are lessened for our necessities are increased, the French being a potent Enemy and a near Neighbour, we need not labour under greater Inconveniences: and the mischeifes of the interruption of our antient Government not yett recovered. Wee therefore humbly propose that for a present Reliefe the vessell may be dispatched with Convoy and leave given to merchants to shipp armes and ammunition as followeth, viz^t 1000 fuzies, 200 barrells pistoll powder, 50 barrells cannon powder, 20 tunn Lead.

Whereby we shall be able (God blessing Endeavors) to Defend our selves. And if his Ma^{ty} shall think fitt to attempt the Reduction of Canada (now so prejudiciall to their Ma^{ties} Colonies in America) we shall with all chearfullness and resolution give our utmost assistance thereto, not doubting by his Ma^{ty} will of his inviolable Justice and Royall Bounty continue and establish to us our ancient Rights and priviledges.

MAY 30th, 1690.

III.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxvi. p. 436.]

*To the right honorable the Lords of their
Majesties Most honorable Privy Council.*

¹⁶ The Answer of the Agents of the Governour, Council and Representatives of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England (as far forth as they are any waies concerned) to the petition of Lieut. James Weems.



THESE Respondents with all humility doe lay before your Lordships, that they are only imployed and entrusted by and on the behalfe of the f^d governour, Councill and Representatives, and

¹⁶ The following is the corrected draft as presented to the Council; a rough draft is also in Mafs. Archives, vol. xxxv. p. 384. There are many documents in the series relating to Lieut. Weems, but the matter was of too little importance to be worth any long account of it. The Answer is here given simply because it was made to so high a tribunal as His Majesty's Council. The following letter will be sufficient to show the position Weems occupied; it is copied from Mafs. Archives Revolution, vol. cvii. p. 139.

PEMAQD June 23^d. '89.Gent^t

Yours I have recd wherein you propose very fair in the respects of ye time to come and till further orders, providing it might stand with my Advantage and Honor, I would imbrace: but I must tell you, y^t my Dependance is elsewhere where I hope to be more servicable to my King and Countrey yⁿ here, for since you have seen cause

to Displace the Governor and all the Gentlemen under his command, I am resolved to take my fortune with them. Therefor I advise you to hasten and send your forces and take possession of this place, for I cannot promise to secure it, my men being all resolved to leave me, as some have done already; but have prevailed with them for a short time waiting your speedy releaf, and satisfaction for their time. The 20th of this instant arrived two Captives which I thought convenient to hasten to you, being desirous to know the state of the Country and Indians, which they can best relate. Having no more to add only my Humble servis and remaine

Sr Yours

JAMES WEEMS.

I have ingaged you will satisfy these men for their Boate and time, itt presenting for the King's servis; agreed for 3^{li} money

Superfcribed

To Mr. Simon Bradstreet, Esqr.,
Governor of Boston.

and for no other part of New England, and that the Authority and Trust that they have received is only to be humble suitors to their Majesties for the obtaining a Grant and Restitution of their former franchises and privileges, and to use their lawful endeavours to justify the proceedings of the said colony in relation to the late Revolution there.

And these respondents, Sir Henry Ashurst, and Increase Mather doe say that neither of them was in New England during the transactions in the petition mentioned and know nothing thereof. And the other respondents Elisha Cooke and Tho. Okes doe not know that the fort of Pemmaquid was so distressed or taken by reason of such defect or in such manner as the petition sets forth; and doe apprehend, that the Government of that Colony can make it appear that the petitioner hath not truly represented matters in his petition. And none of these respondents know that the £172. 6. 10 in the petition mentioned or any part thereof is due to the petitioner; And if any thing be due and unpaid to him they humbly conceive that had he stayed upon the place or shall make application to that Government that he might or will receive his due. However these Respondents deny that they were or are anywies entrusted or had or have any Authority from or effects of the said Government in their hands, or power to pay the petitioner his demands or any part thereof. And humbly hope they cannot be thought lyable or shall be any waies compelled to pay the same.

MARCH 18th, 1690.

Signatures torn off. { HEN ASH[URST.]
INC[REASE MATHER.]

IV.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxvi. p. 11.]

Report of the Council advising Andros's Acquittal.

AT THE COURT AT WHITEHALL

THE 24 OF APRILL 1690

PRESENT

The King's Most excellent Majesty

His Royall Highness P. George of Denmark.

L^d President

Duke of Norfolk

Duke of Boulton

L^d Steward

Earle of Oxford

Earle of Shrewsbury

Earle of Pembroke

Earle of Bath

Earle of Macklesfield

Earle of Nottingham

Earle of Portland

Earle of Faulconbridge

Earle of Marlborough

Earle of Torrington

Earle of Scarbor^o

Earle of Warrington

Earle of Montague

Viscount Newport

Viscount Sydney

L^d Bishop of London

Sir Robert Howard

Sir Henry Capell

M^r Comptroller

Mr Vice Chamberlaine

Mr Chancellor of the Excheq^r

L^d Cheife Justice Holt

Mr Boscawen

Mr Powle

The Right Honorable the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations having this day presented a Report to his Majesty in Council in the words following, viz :

May it please your Majesty.



OUR Majesty having by your Letters dated the 30th day of July last, to the present Government of the Massachusetts Baye in New England, Signified your pleasure that Sir Edmund Andros, late Governour of that Territory and others that had been feized by the people of Boston upon the late Revolution and detained there under confinement, for the space of ten months, should according to their humble request made to your Majesty in Councill, be sent into England by the first Opportunity to answer before your Majesty what might
be

be objected against them. We have accordingly on the 10th instant, been attended by Sir Edmund Andros and others lately imprisoned in New England, As also by Sir Henry Ashurst, Mr. Elisha Cooke, Mr. Increase Mather, Mr. Thomas Oakes, who then declared themselves unto us to be Agents for the said Government of the Massachusetts Bay.

But by reason of the late arrivall of some of them into England, desired they might be allowed further time to produce their Credentials and Charges against the said Sir Edmund Andros and others foresaid: which Charge having been brought in on the Monday following, We were, according to our directions attended on Thursday last by Sir Edmund Andros and such as were lately Imprisoned in New England, and by Counsel learned on both sides.

At which time the Counsel learned for the people of the Massachusetts Bay, as they termed themselves, having been asked by us whether any person were ready to signe or owne the said charge, no person could then be found or named unto us, upon our Inquiry to signe or owne the same.

So that as we see no matter of complaint or charge against Sir Edmund Andros and others aforesaid, to proceed upon, we do therefore most humbly offer our Opinion to your Majesty that the said Sir Edmund Andros and other Persons lately Imprisoned in New England and now attending your Majesty, be forthwith discharged and set at liberty, and that the said Paper or Charge, which has not been signed or owned, may be dismissed; inasmuch as nothing has been objected against the said Sir Edmund Andros and others, by the present Government of the Massachusetts Bay or their Agents, at the times appointed by us, in pursuance of your Majesty's pleasure signified to them in that behalf.

Which is nevertheless most humbly submitted.

COUNCILL CHAMBER, 17th of Aprill, 1690.

His

His Majesty in Council is pleased to approve of the said Report and to order that the paper or charge therein mentioned as not being signed or owned by any person, be dismissed this board: And that Sir Edmund Andros, late Governor of New England and others that have been seized by the people of Boston upon the late Revolution and now attending his Majesty, be forthwith discharged. As they are hereby discharged and sett at Liberty according to the said Report.

Ex.

CHA. MONTAGUE.

Coppy.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxvi. p. 125.]

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

¹⁷ The humble Address and Petition of the Governor and Councille and the Representatives of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay; convened in Generall Court at Boston.

May it please your Majesty.



WE have been honoured with the Receipt of your Majesty's severall gracious Letters of the 30th July, the 12th & 15th of August last past, and do with all humble and hearty thankfullnesse acknowledge the Goodnesse of God in the Favour we have found

¹⁷ Although this Address is not dated, It will be noticed that it says that the we presume that it was prepared early King's orders about Andros "are now in February, 1690, and was sent in the attended [to] by this first opportunity vessel that carried Andros to England. of shipping." So also in the next document,

found in your Majesty's gracious Acceptance and Answer of our former Addressees; and that your Majesty hath been graciously pleased to Authorize and impower us to continue the Administration of the Government over this your Colony; which we humbly informed your Majesty we were in the Exercise of according to Charter Rules. Your Majesty's commands relating to the *Rose* frigate were forthwith Observed. And your other Commands for the sending home Sir Edmund Andros and others alike seized and under confinement, are now attended by this first opportunity of Shipping. We have also dispatched some Gentlemen from hence to wait upon your Majesty with this our Address, having impowered them together with some others already concerned for us upon the place to manage our Affaires; on whose behalfe we humbly supplicate your Majesty's favour. We are sensible that there are those who have been industrious to inkindle and foment disturbances among us, that they might have plausible pretences to misrepresent us; which carriage of theirs is the lesse surprizing to us, when we reflect upon many of their words and Actions manifesting their disaffection to the Alteration of the Government in England. We also crave leave humbly to acquaint your Majesty that severall ill men combining together have committed divers felonys and Pyracys and that we might put some stop to their progress in so foul a designe, we were necessitated to grant Commissions to suppress, bring in and secure them; in which Enterprize the Captaine commissioned for that service was slain and four of the Pirates. Notwithstanding which and during the Imprisonment of the remainder, others were so insolently
hardy

ment, of 29 March, 1690, it is said they send duplicates "of our Addressees and letters [of date of] about six weeks since." Again, the receipt of Capt. Bant for Andros and the other prisoners

mentions also a letter from the Government, directed to the Earl of Nottingham, which we may presume to be this Address, as the Earl was Principal Secretary of State.

hardy as to surprize and run away with another Veffell and her Cargo. These daring mifchiefes constrained us for the neceffary prefervation of the peace, after Tryal and condemnation to order the Execution of fome of the Infigators and Leaders of thofe Enemys of Mankind, for the deterring of others from the like intolerable practices: having Confidence that what hath been done in that regard will be no wife offensive to your Majefty.

We humbly fupplicate your Majefties Grace and Favour for the continuance and confirmation of our Ancient Charter Rights and priviledges both Civil and Sacred; for the Obtaining of which the Eftates and lives of our fathers and predeceffors were expended; by which means our Libertys are become the more dear unto us, upon account of their own innate worth, and what they have coft us with no charge to the Crowne. From which confideration we perfwade ourfelves that your Majefty out of your Clemency and Juftice will effectually confirme us in the poffeffion of them; which as we humbly conceive will be a very honorable purfuance of your Majefty's moft gracious Declaration in order to your defcent into England.

May God bleffe your Majefty with a long and prosperous Reigne,

So prays

Royal Sir,

Your Majefties very Loyal and dutifull fubjects and humble fuppliant, the Governor and Council and Representatives of your Colony of the Maffachufetts

S. BRADSTREET, *Governor.*

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter Papers, vol. xxxv. p. 374.]

Maffachufetts Government to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Right Hono^{ble}

May it please your Lordship.



WE have difpatched this Exprefs with the duplicates of our Addreffes and letters about fix weeks fince, by the hands of our Agents (who we hope are fafely arrived) and farther to lay before their Majefties the prefent ftate and condition of their Colonys and plantations in thefe parts, being annoyed and infefted with both French and Indian Enemys, the firft (tho formerly more Secret in the animating and fupplying of the Indians againft their Majefties fubjects) have of late openly appeared and joyned to their Affiftance in the actual affaulting and defolating fome more remote Villages and Plantations of the Englifh, as Schenectady upon Hudfon's River about twenty miles above Albany, and Salmon Falls, a Plantation upon a branch of Pifcataqua River (altho the loffe of both muft principally be attributed unto their own deadly fecurity and treachery of the Enemy) the Enemy having killed and captivated at both places 150 or thereabouts men, women, and children.

We have not been wanting on our part to doe our utmoft to intend the fafety and prefervation of the whole of their Maj^{ties} intereft, and had men in Garrifon at both places fufficient with their own Inhabitants to have repelled the force of the Enemy. We are certainly informed by the Examination of fome French prifoners lately brought in, that

that the French from Canada have five or fix hundred out joyned with the Indians in severall partys towards this country eastward and westward, which hath necessitated our consideration of the most effectual means to resist and repell the further attack of that Vigilant and restless Enemy. And together with the enforcing of our Frontiers, exciting of the Maquas and other Indians engaged with us to alarme and molest the Enemy by Land, have resolved upon an Expedition against them by Sea to Port Royal and other places adjacent, where they have taken severall of our fishing vessells; and are setting forward the same under the conduct of Sir William Phips. It being the General opinion of the whole Country that there is no expectation of the putting an Issue to the Indian Warr, nor will their Majesties subjects here ever live in peace, but by the dislodging and removal of those ill neighbours, the French; their increase and strengthening themselves in these parts being judged utterly inconsistent with the interest of the Crown of England. God succeeding this present attempt, it will greatly encourage to an attack upon Canada; if his Maj^{ty} be pleased to countenance the same, and to afford some assistance of Shipping with a speedy supply of ammunition, of which we are in great want, and can hardly spare sufficient to furnish the present Expedition. We have been humbly bold to supplicate his Majesty to order a supply of Arms and ammunition for us; and that this small vessell chiefly sent on that occasion may be permitted speedily to returne, that we may not be unprovided for our necessary defence and to resist the assaults of the Enemy.

Right Hon^{ble}

We humbly pray the Hon^r and advantage of your Lordship's favourable Representation of the promises on our behalfe unto his Majesty, and your Lordships assistance and furtherance

furtherance of our Agents; whome we have directed to wait upon his Majesty on occasion of this and other our Publick affaires.

Praying your Lordships Prosperity, we subscribe R^t Hon^{ble}

Your Lordships sincerely devoted and most humble serv^{ts}.

S. BRADSTREET Gov^r in the name
of the Council.

BOSTON, 29 March,
1690.

[Mss. Archives, Revolution, vol. cvii. p. 219.]

Letter of the Governor and Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

R^t Hon^{ble}

May it please your Lord^{sh}



CCORDING to our Obligation of Duty and sincere affection to y^r Maj^{ties} Service, we have by fundry occasional Conveyances as well as by one exprefs, formerly presented your Lord^{sh} with an Account of the publick affaires of their Maj^{ties} Colonys in New England, and especially in reference unto a bloody Warr begun and carrying on against their Majesties Subjects and Interest in these parts by a Combination of French and Indian Enemies, who by Reason of the dispersion of the English Settlements, the many Rivers and hideous Woods in the Eastern parts (which hitherto hath been the Principal Seat of the Warr) and the base treacherys and sculking

sculking of the Enemy, have gained Advantages by surprizal to perpetuate divers horrid and barbarous Outrages, Spoiles and Devastations of the English dwellings.

And it is the Concurrent Opinion of the whole that notwithstanding the great charge and Trouble we have been at in raising and sending out men, provisions and other supplies to their Assistance and Relief, that we cannot secure and defend the Remote Plantations whilst the Enemy forage and live upon us at our dwellings and annoy us upon all Quarters by sending forth Partys, in the mean time being quiet at home; so that upon consultation had, it is concluded to Raise an United Force within their Majesties severall Governments as far as Virginia, to attack them in their owne Country, and that the forces from the Western Colonys joyne with the 5 Nations of the Indians in friendship with us, to make their descent upon Canada from Albany, whilst at the same time we send by sea to attack them at Quebec; for which preparations are accordingly making to the utmost of our Capacity with such Shipping as we have to set forth, expecting that we should before this time have received his Majestys Commands respecting that Affair, and supplies of Arms and Ammunition as we humbly supplicated in our last: but the Season of the Year is so far spent that an Omission of a little time longer may loose the Opportunity for this Summer, and the Enemy by their Continual incursions may utterly waste our Remote Plantations before another season.

We are not unsensible of the Greatnesse and chargeableness of the Undertaking and Vast import thereof: nothing lesse than Necessity could have forced us thereto without their Majesties Gracious encouragement and supply of shipping. The Voice of Providence in the Generallity of the People, being extraordinarilly spirited and importunate to engage therein, bespeaking setting forward the same, looking
at

at it as the Principal means under God for their safety and defence by removing and cutting off supplies and aids to the Enemy, and a special Service to their Majesties for the Preservation of their Interest, hoping for their Majesties favourable Acceptance of our sincere Intentions and Endeavours to promote their Honor and Interest and the safety of their Subjects under our care.

We formerly forwarded the Intelligence of the success of the Forces sent to Fort Royal who have reduced that place unto the obedience of the Crowne of England, and await their Majesties settlement thereof; it will be our rejoicing if God please to honor us in improving us as Instruments of further service by smiling upon the present Expedition.

In a late engagement of two of our Companys with a considerable Number of the Enemy, French and Indians whome they haply discovered neer a swamp early in a morning busied about making ready their breakfast, ours had the Opportunity of falling upon them before they were discryed, and entred into a sharp dispute for 3 or 4 houres time by brisk firings on both sides, in which many of them were slaine and wounded, some of principal note, and had probably been totally defeated, had not a fresh Party come in to their Assistance. This is the most considerable Action that we are certain to have done upon the Enemy, and tho our loss (not so great in Number as in some of more especial use and service) be matter of Lamentation, yet God is greatly to be acknowledged in giving any Check to the Enemy's Insolence, and we trust he is beginning to turne his hand upon his and our Enemy.

Our Coast is infested by French Privateers and Pirates which put us to no small Trouble and charge to secure our shipping and sea ports against their Invasion, and have two Ships of Warr and another Vessell sent out to cruize in and about block Island for some who have lately made attack
upon

upon that Island, and hope to have a Good Account of them in a short time.

R^t Hon^{ble}

We fear overmuch to trespass upon your Lord^{pps} Patience, but accounted it our Duty humbly to lay before their Majesties this generall Account of the present publick Affaires, humbly supplicating their Majesties favorable Acceptance of our real Endeavours for their service, and gracious Aspect towards their good Subjects of this Colony in a full Confirmation of our ancient Rights and priviledges, that our Agents now waiting at the Court for that End may be speedily dismissed home with Orders for the same, which will lay us under the highest Obligations for ever to acknowledge their Majesties Royal Bounty by the most Reall demonstrations of our Loyalty and Obedience.

Praying likewise the Continuance of your Lord^{pps} favour whereof we have experienced the sensible effects, we take leave humbly to subscribe

R^t Hon^{ble}

Their Majesties very Loyall and dutifull
Subjects and your Lord^{pps} most humble and sincerely devoted servants

SIM. BRADSTREET, Gov^r
in the name of the Councill.

BOSTON in New England,
July 19th, 1690.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxvi. p. 228.]

Governor and Council to the Agents.

BOSTON, November 29, 1690.

Honored and Worthy Sirs

T is now more than nine months from the time of our Agents departure, sent from hence with our humble Addresses to their Majesties for our settlement, since which we have not been made happy with the receipt of a line from your selves, that might have been of direction in the Conduct of our Publick Affayres, circumstanced with so many various difficulties. Although some not well affected to the present Government have not been wanting to insinuate as if they had Intelligences of the Issue and ill success of our Affayres in England, and to spread abroad divers false Rumours respecting the same, to amuse the People and make them uneasy, and thereby to render the Administration of the Government more difficult. We do not herein intend the imputation of any Neglect to your selves or Omission of opportunitys for conveyance, being sensible that those so acting have not been better furnished with Intelligences; but to intimate the Spirit that is found among us and that the delay of a full Settlement, especially considering the conjuncture of our Affayres, hath been of no little disadvantage.

We have not knowingly omitted any conveyance to impart unto you, what from time to time hath occurred with us in matters of moment, particularly referring to the Warr, and the Expeditions set forth against the French and Indian Enemy; a narrative of that to Port Royal and of God's smiles upon us therein hath been forwarded unto you and hope is come safe to hand, with our Letters advising of our preparations

preparations to set forth for Canada, which was accordingly put in Execution.

The awfull Frowne of God in the disappointment of that chargable and hazardous Enterprize, you will have a particular Account of in the Narrative accompanying of these; wherein whatsoever some may charge as matter of blame upon these or those Instruments employed in the conduct of that Affayre, yet is the providence of God appearing against us in the same, to be specially marked and taken notice of: partly by the long continuance of contrary winds at their Entering the River, retarding their voyage that they were neer three times soe long going up as their passage was to the River's mouth, and notices thereby given to the Enemy to prepare and opportunity to draw down their forces to oppose them. As also the withdrawing of the Land forces, notwithstanding our pressing necessity of a Reinforcement of that expedition to keep the Enemy alarmed and buisy above, endeavouring all we could the prosecution thereof. Although the Indians (as is said) fell so greatly short of appearance as they had promised, Count Frontenac coming with his souldiers to Quebeck but three dayes before our ships got thither; and then the unseasonableness of the weather after their arrival there: and several other particular providences concurring in this disappointment gives us plainly to see the finger of God therein; and shall our Father spit in our face and we not be ashamed! God grant that we may be deeply humbled and inquire into the cause and reforme those sins that have provoked so great Anger to smoke against the prayers of his people, and to answer us by terrible things in Righteousness.

And no less of God's anger hath appeared against us in the loss of so many of our friends sent out in that Expedition, and at their return by the contagion of the Small-pox. Fevers and other killing distempers, which upon a modest computation

computation (with those slain and dead of their wounds) we cannot reckon up less than two hundred men in the whole or thereabouts, whereof neer fifty are Indians. God is holy and righteous in all his waies and forever to be adored in his wisdom and Sovereignty.

We are sensible there will not be wanting those who will endeavour to traduce and misrepresent us in the designe and management of this so chargable and hazardous an undertaking, whereto, it being by most apprehended, we were enforced through necessity for our own safety, we can truly say we had no other ends therein but the glory of God, the preservation of their Majesties interest and defending of their good subjects of these Colonys against the incursions and depredations of cruel Anti christian and heathen Enemies, who were the first Assailants, and made their inrodes upon us both in the East and West last spring, and are using all their jesuitical policy utterly to root us out, as you will see by the inclosed Narrative of Capt. Davis, accounting us (as the English nation in general) Rebels for our Loyalty to their present Majesties.

We may not expect to live in peace, nor can their Majesties Interest in these parts be secured, but by the subdueing and bringing under these malicious and bloody Enemies, who are wickedly designing and unweariedly industrious, spareing no cost and bearing with the most insufferable injuries offered them by the Indians, to proselyte and bring them over unto their side; so that they may have the fairer advantage to infest and lay waste the English plantations. Nor can our Sea Coast Fishery or Navigation be defended against their Invasions without his Majesty shall be pleased to afford us some assistance of shipping and other supplies, which we desire you would humbly lay before his Majesty. And if his Majesty shall see cause to order the setting forth any frigatts for the reduceing of Canada, our Souldiers
(who

(who generally want neither spirit nor resolution) are ready to offer themselves again to that Service.

It is not unlikely that you may meet with some Complaints of our countenancing or connivance at irregular Trading, and not giving due Encouragement to a private Ship of Warr, that seized upon and brought in two English ships from Newfoundland, that came thither from France. You may truly answer, that we do not apprehend that we are justly to be taxed in the one or the other of such complaints, and have not been wanting, to our power, to prevent irregular Trading, by employing of Officers to inspect and informe as also to seize upon any such, and upon particular Occasions granting forth special warrants for the taking hold of any acting in that kind, and shall be alike carefull to proceed against them according to the direction of the Law; one Ship is at present under seizure in order to Tryal on that account. And for the ships brought from Newfoundland, one was seized being wholly discharged of any French goods (if she brought any) and reladen with fish; the other was seized with French goods on board; the Captain laid his Informations and joyned Issue against both, upon breach of His Majesties Declaration of Warr, inhibiting of his subjects holding of communication or correspondence with the French King or his subjects; in which Declaration there is no penalty set down nor Rule given how to proceed against any Ships or Vessels that come from France; and this was an English Ship brought there as the Merchant alleged to bring off himselfe and other English Prisoners and not trading from or to France within the meaning of the King's Declaration. She was acquitted of that Information but afterwards resealed by the Country's Officer for breach of the Acts of Trade, which being done as is alleged in Newfoundland, security is taken for the Answering of it in England. The case of the other ship being

being differently circumstanced from this first is transmitted to the High Court of Admiralty to be there determined, of which you may have a farther Account.

In the beginning of this month, seven or eight of the Eastern Indian Sagamores sent in a writing by the hand of a Captive, and came themselves to Wells to make Overtures for Peace. Some Gentlemen from hence were appointed to discourse them, but ere they came thither, the Indians were all gone (save one onely) pretending the time assigned for their return was neer out, and if they stayed that their men would apprehend they were either kild or detained Captive, and so mischiefs might ensue thereupon. Our Gentlemen discoursed him that remained and agreed about the Exchange of Captives, and that those who came to fetch the Captives should be instructed to receive what further Overtures the Sachims (who would then be together) should make concerning a Treaty, and agree of time and place for the same. Captain Alden, Captain Convers and some Gentlemen of Piscataqua are Employed in this Affayre, an Account whereof we may expect within a weeke or Ten dayes at their Return; the English Captive that came in faith they are very poor and low, have lost a considerable number of their men, and some of principal note among them, expresse themselves weary of the warr, and have this several months been meditating how to mediate and bring about a peace with the English. The success of this; as all our Affayres is with God, who we hope in all these darke dispensations of his providence will at length cause light to breake forth upon us on whome alone is our dependance and Expectations.

Thus you may see the Sea of trouble we are swimming in, nor are we altogether unsensible of the great paines and difficulties your selves are labouring under on our behalfe, their Majesties Favourable Aspect towards us and direction
for

for the future management of our publick Affayres and Gracious Settlement of the Government is absolutely necessary to be hastned unto us, which we are humbly awaiting with longing Expectations and desire you to sollicit.

We are greatly thoughtfull about the discharge of our Debts at home and the making of supplys to yourselves abroad; there wilbe soon other Opportunitys for writing you which we shall be carefull to improve; and possibly then be able to give a more particular Accompt of the issue of the late great Expedition: wherein we doubt not you will not be wanting to Endeavour their Majesties favourable Resentment of our sincere Intentions for their service.

Giveing our hearty Respects and Service unto yourselves and other Friends with you that wish our welfare, we commend you to the gracious Protection and guidance of God both in your personal and publick Affayres you are Engaged in on our behalfe, and begg your prayers for direction to our selves in a right managing of the Arduous Concerns under our hands.

We subscribe

Your assured Friends and obliged Servants

SIM: BRADSTREET, Gov^r

in the name of the Council.

For the Right Worshipfull Sir Henry Ashurst, K^{nt} baronet, Elifha Cooke, Esq., the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather, and Mr. Thomas Oakes, Agents for the Massachusetts Colony.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxv. p. 180.]

The Governor and Council and Representatives of
the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, convened in General Court in Boston.

To all to whome these presents shall come, Greeting &c.

NOW YE that by the act of this Court we have nominated and appointed and by these presents do fully impower and authorize our honored and trusty friends, Sir Henry Ashurst K^t and Baronett, Elifha Cooke, Esq., Mr Increase Mather and Mr Thomas Oaks, to be our Agents in England, or so many of them as shall be resident there, to wayt upon their Majesties for the negociation and management of the public affaires of this Colony in the obtaining a full confirmation of our ancient Charter Rights and Priviledges. And to endeavour the same by all due and lawful wayes and manner, and for what else may concern us there, referring to the persons now to be sent into England in observance of his Majesties commands, and our defence against any that shall misrepresent us, on account of the late Revolution or in anything transacted by our so long sustaining the Government since that time. Hereby ratifying and confirming what our said Agents or so many of them as shall be there resident shall lawfully act and do by virtue of this Power, according to such Instructions as they shall receive from the Governor and Council with the Representative body of this people.

In testimony whereof we have ordered the Common seale of the Massachusetts Colony to be hereunto affixed. Dated the twenty-fourth day of January, Anno Domⁱ one thousand
six

fix hundred and eighty and nine. And in the first year of their Majesties Reigne

SIM^N BRADSTREET, Governor
By Order, Is^A ADDINGTON, Sec^y.

[NOTE.— Dec. 21, 1689, the Representatives had voted that Doct. Thomas Oakes be employed as agent, to join with Elisha Cook and others, desiring the consent of the Magistrates thereto.] xxxv. p. 142.

Instructions for the Agents for the Colonie of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.

1. You will wait upon their Majesties and humbly present our Addresses sent with you.

2. You are to lay before his Majesty the intollerable Inconvenience that this Colony was exposed to by meanes of the Arbitrariness and Illegallity of the late Commissions and by reason of ill Instruments in whose hands principally the execution of them lay.

3. The utter Inconsistence that there is between the very being of this Plantation and the mischievous aims and practises of the French King.

4. The just and amazing fears this people were surprized with upon the notice they had of the late King James's being in France, lest Sir Edmond Andros (whose Governor and Confidant he was) should betray them into the power of the French King, other circumstances concurring to strengthen these fears.

5. The despair this people were brought to when instead of defending them in their just Right and Properties those in the late Government fought to turne them out of their
Lands

Lands and possessions upon which under God they had their dependence for a necessary Livelihood.

6. The probability there is that the present Warr with the Natives was caused by the Injury done to Mons^r Castiene who is in affinity with them and has a great influence upon them.

7. That you solicit in Parliament or elsewhere as may be fit, the Confirmation of our ancient Charter and all its Rights and Priviledges, Civil and Sacred.

8. You are to take care that what money has been advanced in London by Mr. Stephen Mason or others for the use of the Massachusetts be speedily paid them with due thanks for their real service done to this Colonie by their meanes.

9. You are to solicit that the liberty of coynage may be allowed us.

Item. To lay before his Majesty the case of Pemaquid.

10. That you lay before his Majesty the great inconvenience we are under by the ill neighbourhood of the French in Canada and Acadie and places adjacent, and pray his sanction and direction in that matter.

11. If there be opportunity you are to endeavour the obtaining of such Priviledges as may be of further benefit to this Colony.

SIMON BRADSTREET Governor
in the name of the General Court.

BOSTON the 24th Janu^r 1689. [1690]

By order ISAAC ADDINGTON, Sec^y

NOTE. — The addressees referred to are evidently the documents printed on p. 43. Probably Capt. Bant took all these papers, as well as the state prisoners.

[Vol. xxxv. p. 126.]



VOTED by the Representatives that the Treasurer forthwith take care to provide bills of Exchange for a thousand pounds sterling payable to our Agents in England towards the defraying the publique charges of this Colony that are and may arise there.

EBENEZER PROUT, Clerk.

DEC. 16th, 1689.

Consented to by the Council

ISA^A ADDINGTON, Sec^y

[P. 222.]



ORDERED that if the Agents for this Colony in England shall have occasion for more money there than what is now advanced and ordered for their supplies, that they take up what shall be necessary upon the publick Credit, not exceeding the sum of one thousand Pounds, and draw bills upon the Treasurer for the same.

past in the Affirmative by the Representatives

EBENEZER PROUT, Clerk

FEBY. 7, 1689.

Consented to by the Governor and Council, *die predict,*

ISA. ADDINGTON, Sec^y.

[P. 371.

CHARLES TOWNE, ye 25th March, 1690.*Honored Sirs*

THIS serves to accompany foure Second Bills of Exchange, with their letters of credit, viz., one Bill from Sir William Phips for two hundred pounds sterling, payable by Mr Hopefull Bendall, merchant in London; one bill from Corn^e Samuel Shrimpton for two hundred pounds sterling payable by Mr. John Ives, merchant in London; one bill from Mr Jeremiah Dummer for fifty pounds sterling payable by Mr Edward Hull, merchant in London; and one bill from Capt Richard Marting for fifty pounds sterling payable by said Marting at the safe arrival of his ship called the Blossom, and in case of his mortality to Mr. John Ives, merchant in London.

Also I have ship^d on board the ship America Mr Hugh Sampson, comd^r one hundred fourty and four barrills of whale Oyle, and on board the sloop Resolution, Mr W^m Welsteed comm^{dr} one hundred fifty and two barrills of whale Oyle and two thousand five hundred of Read oak hogfhead staves, all which said goods goes consigned to Mr Stephen Mason, merchant in London, on the proper account and risque of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England — which is the nedfull at present from

Sirs Yours to command

JOHN PHILLIPS, Treas^r

[Indexed as Addressed to the Agents. —]

[P. 299.]

QRDRED that the Sloop Resolution be forthwith fitted up and despatched away for England at the publick charge with Advice to their Majesties of the present danger their Majesties Colonys in these American parts are in, of Incurfions by the French in Canada, now in actual hostility with the Crown of England. And of the want of Armes and Ammunition to furnish the Country for their defence. And that some Gentlemen or Merchants be desired to take up money on the publick Account to load her at the best rates they can agree. The Treasurer, Mr Edward Bromfield and Mr Joseph Parson are appointed a Committee to purchase Oyle or Logwood to load her without delay.

Voted in the affirmative by the Magistrates

ISA. ADDINGTON Sec^r

13 MCH. 1689/90.

Consented to by the Deputies

EBENEZER PROUT, Clerk.



[DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE

Period of Andros's Administration,

CHIEFLY FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES.]

I

(65)

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PREFATORY NOTE.

¹⁸ **I**N this section it is proposed to give a selection of papers illustrative of Andros's administration in Massachusetts, taken chiefly from the Archives at the State House. The volumes of original papers there covering this period are labelled "Usurpation" (vols. 126, 127, 128, and 129), "Revolution" (vol. 107), "Inter Charter" (vols. 35, 36, and 37), and "Political" (vol. 106), though some papers may probably be found under other headings, according to the detestable division made in the Secretary's office.

Besides the unpublished papers, there are many documents in print of the highest value. It has seemed best, therefore, to prepare a chronological list of these, at least for the period embraced within the limits of Andros's connection with Massachusetts. Some of the papers are of special value in regard to other colonies, but they will be calendared as of secondary importance, at least, in our own history.

It is to be noticed that papers referring to Edmund Randolph are not inserted in this list, being reserved for a special calendar, in a subsequent part of this volume.

No attempt has been made to give any continuous part of the history of the times; but from the Archives such items have been selected as seemed most characteristic and entertaining.





List of Papers relating to Andros's Administration,

ALREADY PRINTED.

[The Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society are marked "Col. 3d S. or 4th S." The Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, "N. Y. Doc." The Records of the Colony of Rhode Island, "R. I." The Connecticut printed Records, "Conn. Rec."]

1685.	Oct.	13.	Judgment vacating Mafs. Charter	Col. 4th S. ii. 246.
1686.			Orders in Council	Col. 4th S. ii. 295.
	June	3.	Andros's Commiffion	{ Col. 3d S. vii. 139. R. I. iii. 212.
	Aug.	19.	John Gould's Cafe	
	Sept.	13.	Instructions about R. I. Charter	{ Col. 3d S. vii. 150. Col. 3d S. vii. 163. R. I. iii. 218.
		15.	Petition about the Eleutherians	
			Petition about the Eleutherians	Col. 3d S. vii. 168.
		19.	Pemaquid Subject to Andros	Col. 3d S. vii. 160.
	Dec.	8.	Order to preferve Mafs. Records	Col. 3d S. vii. 162.
		22.	Andros, Letter to R. I.	{ Col. 3d S. vii. 164. R. I. iii. 119.
			Andros, Letter to W. Clarke	
			Andros, Letter to Gov. Treat	Conn. Rec. iii. 376.
			Andros, Letter about Conn. Charters	Col. 3d S. vii. 165.
			Petition of Richard Smith	Col. 3d S. vii. 166.
		30.	First Council Meeting under A.	Col. 3d S. vii. 164-7.
			E. Tyng about Quit Rents in Maine	Col. 3d S. vii. 169.
1686-7.	Jan.		Petition of John Greene to the King	R. I. iii. 221.
		11.	Specimen of Marriage License	Col. 3d S. vii. 170.
		28.	License of the Prefs	Col. 3d S. vii. 171.
			Fees for the Custom Houfe	Col. 3d S. vii. 173.
	Feb.	18.	Bristol Petition	Col. 3d S. vii. 172.
			Petition of John Maine of Cafco	Col. 3d S. vii. 176.
		25.	Andros, Letter to Gov. Treat	Conn. Rec. iii. 379.
		28.	Andros, Letter to Gov. Treat	Conn. Rec. iii. 379.

1686-7.	Mch. 30.	Andros, Letter to Gov. Treat	Conn. Rec. iii. 380.
		Andros, Letter to E. of Sunderland . .	R. I. iii. 223.
		Andros, Letter to E. of Sunderland . .	R. I. iii. 224.
	June 13.	Andros, Letter to Gov. of Conn. . . .	{ Conn. Rec. iii. 381.
			{ Col. 3d S. vii. 177.
	18.	Andros, Letter from Gov. of Conn. . .	Conn. Rec. iii. 383.
	30.	Papers relative to R. Wharton	R. I. iii. 225.
		J. Usher, Treasurer's Account	Col. 3d S. vii. 178.
	27.	Order relative to Pemaquid	Col. 3d S. vii. 177.
July	9.	Duke of Courland's Vessel	Col. 3d S. vii. 181.
		Petition of Eliz. Hammon	Col. 3d S. vii. 181.
	14.	French Protestants in Narragansett . .	Col. 3d S. vii. 182.
Aug.	6.	Andros, Letter to Gov. of Port Royal .	Col. 3d S. vii. 183.
	8.	Papers about Pirates	Col. 3d S. vii. 184.
		Petition of Joshua Ratflock, school-	
		master	Col. 3d S. vii. 186.
		Petition of Isaac Haulfey, trooper . . .	Col. 3d S. vii. 187.
	24.	About Wrecks in the W. Indies	Col. 3d S. vii. 188.
	30.	Shadrack Wilbore's Imprisonment . . .	Col. 3d S. vii. 191.
Oct.	22.	Andros, Letter to Gov. of Conn. . . .	Conn. Rec. iii. 387.
Nov.	23.	Andros to Allyn	Conn. Rec. iii. 392.
Dec.	5.	Andros from Allyn	Conn. Rec. iii. 397.
		Andros from Col. Talcote	Conn. Rec. iii. 399.
1687-8.		Laws for Conn. . . .	Conn. Rec. iii. 402.
Jan.	26.	Andros to Allyn	Conn. Rec. iii. 438.
	27.	Andros from Allyn	Conn. Rec. iii. 438.
Mch.	26.	Andros to Allyn	Conn. Rec. iii. 441.
1688.	April 7.	Commiffion to Andros	N. Y. Doc. iii. 536.
	16.	Instructions to Andros	{ N. Y. Doc. iii. 543.
			{ R. I. iii. 248.
	23.	Andros, Letter to Allyn	Conn. Rec. iii. 443.
May	11.	Inhabitants at Penobscot	Col. 3d S. i. 83.
	23.	Andros, Letter from Gov. Treat	Conn. Rec. iii. 444.
June	2.	Hubbard made Pres. of Harvard	Col. 3d S. i. 83.
Aug.	11.	Andros, Letter to Gov. of Canada . . .	N. Y. Doc. iii. 555.
	20.	Act for raising Revenue	Conn. Rec. iii. 447.
	25.	Andros, Letter to Gold	Conn. Rec. iii. 448.
Sept.	18.	Conference with Five Nations	N. Y. Doc. iii. 557.
	19.	Andros, Letter to Gov. of Canada . . .	N. Y. Doc. iii. 557.
Oct.	1.	Andros, Letter to John Allyn	Conn. Rec. iii. 449.
	2.	Andros, Letter from Dongan	N. Y. Doc. iii. 566.
	4.	Andros, Letter to Privy Council	N. Y. Doc. iii. 554.
	15.	Andros, Letter from Allyn	Conn. Rec. iii. 450.
	16.	Andros, Letter to Allyn	Conn. Rec. iii. 451.
1688-9.	Jan. 25.	Proclamation for a Fast	Col. 3d S. i. 83.
Mch.	24.	Subscriptions for Episcopal Church . .	Col. 3d S. i. 84.
1689.	April	Account of Forts in New England . . .	Col. 3d S. i. 85.
	June 28.	Attack on Cochecha	Col. 3d S. i. 87.
		Relation of the Plantation of N. E. . .	Col. 3d S. i. 93.

1689.	June 28.	Declaration of Sylvanus Davis . . .	Col. 3d S. i. 101.
	July 30.	Orders to fend Andros to England . . .	Col. 3d S. vii. 191.
	Aug. 3.	Bradstreet to Gov. Treat . . .	Conn. Rec. iii. 468.
	14.	Affidavits against A. about N. Y. . .	N. Y. Doc. iii. 659.
1690.	April 14.	Andros, Letter from Livingston . . .	N. Y. Doc. iii. 708.
	May 19.	Andros, Letter from Van Cortland . .	N. Y. Doc. iii. 715.
	27.	Andros, Report to Com. of Trade . .	N. Y. Doc. iii. 722.
	Nov. 4.	Letter from De Meneval . . .	Col. 3d S. i. 114.
	29.	Treaty with the Indians . . .	Col. 3d S. i. 112.
		Episcopal Ministers' Petition . . .	Col. 3d S. vii. 192.
1690-1.	Feb. 20.	Letter from John Cotton . . .	Col. 3d S. i. 117.
		Petition to the King . . .	Col. 3d S. i. 120.
1691.	June 8.	Proposals to Capt. Kid . . .	Col. 3d S. i. 122.
		C. Mather's Fables of the Birds . .	Col. 3d S. i. 126.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxvi. p. 36.]

J. Palmer's Letter.

PEMAQUID, July 4, 1686.

SIR,



INCE my departure from Boston have discovered that Cap^t Phillip Severett,¹⁹ Commander of the ship Johanna of Piscataway, hath lately failed from Malligo to Penobscott River within this part of his Maj^{ties} Collony of New Yorke, and there unloading his Cargoe, being about 70 Pipes of Mallagoe Wines, 2 Pipes of Oyle, 1 of Brandy, about 16 or 17 Barrells of Fruite: which was left on a Bank of the River side, covered part with a sayle and part with

¹⁹ The cafe was tried in England by the Privy Council, as the following decree shows:—

PHILIP SIVERET.—In Council, 25 Jan. 1687-8. Ordered, to return the

“Johanna” to him on his giving “security to the value thereof to abide by such orders as shall be made by your Maty or your Courts of Justice in New England.”—*Ufurpation*, cxxix. p. 4.

with Bowes, and two men left to looke after itt. And that the empty ship was gone for Piscattaway; and have sent the sloop with orders to feize the same: which they did notwithstanding the Opposition made by Casteene, and have brought 41 Pipes thereof to this Place, and am now sending againe for the Rest: a particular account of all proceedings have wrott to the President, to whom Refer you, and hope you will give all Assistance to feize and secure the said ship that she may be proceeded against as Desired.

I am Sir

Your humble Servant

J. PALMER.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxvi. p. 387.]

Petition of Elutherian Immigrants.

*To his Excellency Sir Edmund Andros, Goveror of his
Majesties Territories in New England.*



HE humble petition of Nicholas Davis, Nath. Sanders, John Alberry and Daniell Sanders in the behalfe of selves, families and the rest of our Company that was on the same accompt with us. Humbly sheweth your Excellency that whereas we agreed with some gentlemen, here, namely Mr Richard Wharton, Mr Simeon Stoddard, Mr Jeremiah Dummer, and Major Gidney of Salem, for the settlement of a plantation about Casco Bay to manure and settle it according to articles drawne upp betweene us, we have performed our parts and have planted about fixteene acres of Corne, but in as much

as

as these gentlemen have not performed their obligation to us in the which they were bound to supply us that wee might carry on the plantation, we were forced to desert the plantation becaufe wee had not food to subfist there, to our great damage and undoing — for now we are in a farr worfe condition than we were before we went thither, not knowing what courfe to take to subfist having worne out our cloths and wafted the little we had. Our humble petition to your Excellency is that we might have relief in this matter, for if we had forfeited our bonds to thefe gentlemen, as they have forfeited their bond to us, the law would have been open for them — So that inasmuch as they have forfeited their bond to us, our humble petition is to your Excellency that wee may [have] refauration as your Excellency fhall thinke meet, which will oblige your poore petitioners ever to pray for your Excellency.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxvii. p. 61.]

(Andros to Lords of the Treafury.)

May it please your Lordships,



HAVE by this opportunity of his Ma^{ties} Ship the King Fisher, transmitted the Threafurers account of all receipts and Disbursements relating to his Ma^{ties} Revenue here fince my arrivall which does not more [than] anfwer the charge of the Government, of all which have endeavoured to Informe myfelfe as much as poffible in this time, and ftated the prefent Revenue by the neereft conjectures can be made thereof, with the moft probable and eafieft way effectually to Raife the fame fuitable

able to the charge (a Computation wherof is likewise layed before your Lordships) as the best and most certaine method for his Ma^{ties} Service in that particuler

The Incidentall Charges att first will be Large being of absolute necessity to make new Fortifications here and to repaire those already made, much wanting the same. That on Castle Island about 3 miles Distant, smale and noe wayes fitted to Lodge a Garrison. Wherefore have resolved to make some beginning and Lodgments on a Convenient place at the South End of the Towne, called Fort hill, which commands the Towne and all Avenues to the same by Land or Sea. Which is humbly submitted by

Your Lordships

Most obedient humble servant.

BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND,

Aug^t 31st 1687.

Endorsed in same hand :
Copy of the Governor's Letter
to the Lords of the Treafury }

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxvii. p. 62.]

(Endorsed: the Governor to the Lord President.)

MY LORD,



HAVE by his Majestyes Shipp the Kings Fisher transmitted to your Lordship the duplicates of severall acts formerly sent, and copys of some since passed; with the Journall of the Councill to the
last

laft of July, and purfuant to his Majefties commands received the laft week, Capt. Francis Nicholfon was the 24th instant fworne of the Councill ; and the 25th His Majefties Gracious Declaration for Liberty of confcience and Proclamation for fuppreffing Pyrates &c. were published here and fent to other principall places A few which there being lately apprehended for Pyracy, one accused by a merchant of Jamaica, the others taken in a Ketch that came into this port, againft two of them Bills were found by the Grand Jury, but on their Tryalls were acquitted.

I have lately received Letters from Governour Dongan advifing of a war and incurfion made by the French of Canada againft the Indians on this fide the Lake above Albany and under New Yorke, where they mett fome difappointment and repulfe by faid Indians, which is of import to his Majefties Plantacons, above the heads of whose greateft Rivers the faid Indians inhabite.

I Hear that Monsieur Minviell is lately come from France to be Governour of Nova Scotia or Accadie, (the late Governour, Monsieur Perrott going home) and the Triggot that brought him to attend on faid coaft.

That a Fortification is alfo designed, faid to be at Port Royall but not certaine where.

Some Fortification is very much wanted for his Ma^{ties} service in this place. That on Caſtle Iſland about three miles diſtant being very ſmall and no wayes fitted or designed to have lodged a Garrifon, ſo that I intend as abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome beginning and lodgements in a convenient place at the South end of the towne, called Fort Hill, very proper to command the Towne and coming in both by land and ſea.

I have alſo ſent the accounts of the Revenue and Diſburſements ſince my time, with ſome obſervations thereof and beſt manner of raiſing it to defray the charge of the Government,

Government, which humbly presume may be easily so effected, if his Majesty shall think fitt to order the same, or Impower the Councill so to do.

In obedience to his Majesty's Commands I herewith likewise send your Lordship the Reports on the claim made by Richard Wharton, Esq., to certain lands at Pajepscott and of the claymes and pretences made to their Narragansett Country or King's Province — and hope his Majestyes Determination and Commands for said places accordingly

and remaine Your Lordships

Most obedient humble Servant.

BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND,
the 31 August, 1687.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxvii. p. 77.]

(The Governor to the Secretary of the
Admiralty.)

SIR,



HIS is by his Ma^{ties} ship the King Fisher now ordred home who in her Reparafon being found more defective then expected has occasioned a greater Expense and taken more time then thought she would have wanted. But now as am informed by the Captain and Officers is well fitted for his Ma^{ties} Service, who have been very Industrious and Diligent in Getting the same performed accordingly, and the captain demeaned himselfe well and kept the ships Company in very good order.

order. And beleiving at his Returne he will give an account to your Satisfaction, presume to recommend him to your favour as a good Officer for his Ma^{ties} further Imploy, which I doubt not but he will deserve and acquitt himselfe well any where.

His Ma^{ties} ship the Rose having lately been in the Dock, where Girdled and Repaired to the captains satisfaction, is now fitted and ready to saile, and Intend her to crouse on this Coast Eastward as farr as Cape Sables, and between that and Cape Codd, where is the Chiefest of our fishery, for their better Encouragement, and to prevent the Designes of any Illegal Traders and Pyrates or Privateers

Monfieur Minviel, a new Governor for Nova Scotia or Acadie arrived lately in a small French Friggat of about 16 guns, ordered to Crouse on the Coast.

I have made a Battery and am now fortifying a place att the South end of the towne called Fort Hill very proper and absolutely necessary for his Ma^{ties} Service, under which is a good Channell close to the shore, where convenient Warehouses may be made, and as am advised, a Dry Dock if Occasion. The same commanding the Avenues to the Towne by Land or Sea.

I am, Sir

Your most faithful humble Servant.

Dated 5 Sept. 1687.

[Mafs. Archives, Usurpation, vol. cxxvii. p. 225.]

²⁰ His Excellency's Answer to the Onnon-dagos Propositions (which is also to the proposed Treaty 5 nations —) about 30 of Octob: 1687.



AM glad the Brethren are fencible of my friendly care and good Inclination for there safety, I making no Difference between them and any other of his Majesties Subjects, and therefore am come here this winter and brought men enough to assist the Brethren if need be. I have taken sufficient care for Corn and Provision for your wifes and children when they come here, if the need should require, and that in such places where they need not fear the French or any of there Indians; but I hope there will be no need of it, for the Governor of Canada seeing that I joyn with the Brethren, and that I have taken it verry ill that he should offer to warr with the King of England's subjects without letting me know the cause of itt; upon which instead of an angry letter as he writt before, he writt a civiler letter pretending the Brethren were the King of France his Subjects and not the King of England's—Now I am sending him a messenger to lett him Know that the Brethren are the King of England's Subjects and that I will stand by them to the Last man, and also to demand all the Indian Prisoners he has, Therefore lett the Brethren take courage and fear nothing, for I beleive he will send one to me to desyre a Peace with this Messenger that

²⁰ This report enables us to add to the memoir prefixed to our first volume the statement that Andros was probably at Albany in October, 1687 (see p. xxviii). In Trumbull's Conn. Records, iii. 387, is a letter from Andros, dated

Oct. 22, 1687, in which he proposes to be in Hartford about the end of the next week. Still I cannot find any reason for assigning this paper to Gov. Dongan, of New York, rather than to Andros.

that is now a going. Therefore I would have the Brethren send me Two from each nation of the wisest men with power from the Rest to give me their Advice in every thing that is fitt to be done: for I am Resolved to doe nothing without the Brethren, and the Sachims that come must stay here all winter, and lett each bring a swift man or two to run to the Brethren upon all occasions

As for the men I desired, viz.

Sinikes	100
Cayoug	50
Onand.	60
Owe.	50
Maq	40

300 men

It is good for them to be at Skennechtady near att hand where our men and they may join if need be.

I defyre the Brethren as I have often told them already that what Prisoners they take neither to Kill nor Torture them, but Keep them to Exchange for their owne Prisoners, which I will let the Governor of Canada know.

Brethren the Mohoggs

There are four children lately taken at Chambly by you; I desire those that took them may bring them here and they shall be Rewarded,* for they belong to a man and woman that were gone for the Rest of there things and so intended to steel away from the French and to come to this government: for there is a great many people that are running away from the Governor of Canada; hearing that I give more than he does and that he is unjust with quarelling with us — (Now when I say us, I mean the Brethren as well as me). But they are afraid of the Brethren, therefore would have

* When you have said this to the besides the Belt for the general Proposition. Maquas give them a Belt of wampum, sition.

have the Brethren not to doe any harm to people comeing hither, but ty them and so bring them here, * [and send me word that I may write to the Governer of Canada, for there shall not a Frenchman be sent back till they give all the Indians for them which they so treacherously took.] provided the number be not above 25.

I have writt the same and sent them word by the Bearer, but if you take any French not comeing here, Keep them Prisoners in your Castles and send me word, which will be a great means to strengthen us and weaken the French; for the Bosstonsers, the best men they have are minded to come

Brethren of Oneyde:

You have done well in sending the Virginia Indian Prisoners upon my commands. Now I desyre you to bring me the French woman that was taken at Cadarachqui. I hear she is given to a family, which was very ill done. But let that family bring her here along with——, † and I will give that family a good Reward —

Upon this a Belt of wampum must be given to the Oneydes, besides the Belt upon the general propositions.

I have sent 2 Gentlemen to England, one after another to the King my Master to acquaint him of the French proceeding, and also that if there be any of our Indians that were taken Prisoners and sent to France, that they may be sent home to their friends.

You are to acquaint all the Indians that the messengers that are gone now to Canada, have the same sign as the messenger had before, and that they do them no harm.

[Ends near the bottom of third page of the MS., which is a rough draft full of corrections and additions. I think, however, this is all the paper.]

* This was in margin.

† Word illegible.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxix. p. 237.]

Pierre Baudouin's Petition.

²¹ *A son Excellence le gouverneur en chef de la nouvelle
Angleterre.*



UPPLIE humblement Pierre Baudouin, difant qu'il apen a votre Excellence de luy accorder Cent acres de terre en la defpance de Falmouth, province de Mayne, et mefme ordonner au fieur Richard Clements, herpanture, en cette partie deputté de en faire l'harpentement, apres quoy en faire fon raport aux fins, qu'il foit delivre patentes ou baillettes de la ditte terre. Et d'autant que par la fuite du fupliant du royaume de France, pays de fa naiffance, caufée par les rigeurs quy cy exerce contre eux de fa religion, il a preque tout perdu le bien qu'il accedoit, et ce quy luy reftoit a efté employé a fon transport et de fa famille en ces territoires, eftante au nombre de fix perfonnes, ayant quatre petits enfance quy ne font encore en age de gagner leur vie. Ce confideration, monfieur, il plaite a votre Excellence en continuant vos favours enverce le fupliant, de luy faire delivrer la ditte baillette pour dieu, et de l'exanter pour quelques annees des Taxes que sel . . nt sur les propriaitaires des terres.

Et le fupliant continura a prier dieu pour la prosperite de votre excellence, ayant desja payé au dit Clements, trante quatre fhillings et deux penny en argent tant pour l'herpantement

²¹ Every one will remember the name of Pierre Baudouin, the ancestor of the famous Bowdoin family. In Hon. Robert C. Winthrop's admirable address before the Maine Historical Society in 1849, p. 4, will be found the translation of a similar petition, though evidently not the present one. I refer the reader to that address for a most interesting account of the Bowdoins.

pantement de 90 acres de la ditte terre, ayant este obligé de vandre quelque effaits quy luy restoient, a moyteye de juste pris, pour avoir argeant pour le dit Clements.

PIERRE BAUDOUIN.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxvii. p. 200.]

*Sir Edmund Andros Knt. Capt. General
and Commander in Chiefe of his Majesties Territory
and Dominion of New England, to Mr Richara
Clements Deputy Surveyor.*



HEREAS Pierre Baudouin hath by his petition Desired a Grant of one hundred acres of vacant Land in Casco bay for his present settlement and Improvement, these are therefore to authorize and Require you to Survey and lay out for the said Pierre Baudouin the said quantity of one hundred acres of vacant land in Casco bay aforesaid, in such place there as you shall be directed to by Edward Ting, Esquire, one of his Majesties Councill, and to make a platt or draft thereof, and Returne the same into the Surveyor's Office att Boston, that a pattent may be granted to him accordingly. And for soe doing this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand and seal at Boston, the 8th day of October, 1687.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxviii. p. 46.]

John Scott's Petition.

²² *To his Excellency, Sir Edmond Andros, Knt. Captain Generall and Governor in Chiefe of his Majesties Territory and Dominion of New England.*



HE petition of John Scott of Rhode Island humbly sheweth That your petitioner being shortly intended to undertake a Voyage for England to looke after and order some small Estate lying there of his own, being also imployed by his uncle James Scott as his Attourney to dispose and settle some Estate in England belonging unto him, and haveing occasion for the Affidavits of some persons liveing at Rhode Island who knew Each of their parents, to prove that they are the Children and heires of John Scott and Richard Scott It being very difficult and chargable to obtain the said persons to come down to Boston personally to testify the same before your Excellency, and his Uncle James Scott aforesaid being impotent and wholely unable to undertake such a Journey.

Your Petitioner is therefore humbly bold to waite upon your Excellency to know your Excellencys pleasure whether if the affidavits of such persons referring unto the premises being drawn up in due forme, may not be admitted to be
sworne

²² This petition presents some difficulties to the genealogist. The presumption would be that John claimed to be the child of John, and his uncle James to be the child of Richard Scott. It is said in the "N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register," vol. xxii. p. 15, that Richard Scott, of Rhode Island, had a son John who outlived him, and who had a son

Sylvanus. If this petition concerns the same family, it would show that Richard had also a son James, and that John had a son John not therein mentioned. A tradition, unsupported by sufficient evidence, makes this Richard Scott a member of the Scott family of Glemsford, co. Suffolk.

fworne before one or more of the Councill resident upon the place, and that your Excellency will please cause a Certificate to be annexed thereto under your Seale, for the Confirming and corroborating the Authority of the said persons before whome the affidavits may be so fworn: Or what other Method of your Excellency will please to direct for the taking of said affidavits that so they may obtain full Credence in England where they are to be used.

And your petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray &c.


JOHN SCOTT.

13 FEBRUARY, 1687/8.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxviii. p. 60.]

Christopher Talbot's Petition.

To Sir Edmond Andros, Knight, Captain General and Governour in Chief over this his Majestys Territory of New E:

 HE humble petition of Christopher Talbot, Turner in Boston humbly sheweth That whereas your petitioner with great pains and expenſe hath found out an Engine uſefull for divers trades men as turners, ropemakers, ſmiths, and all ſorts of mills for corne, ſider, ſawmills and almoſt any thing that is to be done by wheels with ſails — and alſo hath diſcouvered to make a boat ſail againſt the wind and tide, and fundry other things with more eaſe and expedition than hath been diſcovered hitherto either in Europe or America, and whereas his Maſteſty and his royall prediceſſors have at all times been pleaſed graciouſly to Encourage all undertakings of this nature,

nature, that whosoever finds out any new engine or invention profitable for the common good to grant their letters patents for the sole use thereof.

Therefore your petitioner is humbly bold and begs that your Excellency will be pleased to grant him your letters patents for the sole use and improvement of the said Engine, in these his Majesties territories of New E. for 14 yeares (as is accustomed) and that no other person shall make use of the same or any such like without your petitioners consent.

Who is in duty bound and shall for ever pray

CHRISTOPHER TALBOT.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxviii. p. 270.]

William Hutchins's Petition.

To his Excellency Sir Edmund Andrews, Capt. Generall of all his Majesties Forces of New England, and Governour of all the said Territoryes.



THE Humble Petition of William Hutchins, Inhabitant in the province of New Hampshire, in New England, humbly sheweth That the Lord hath been pleased through his Righteousness to visit and correct your poore supplicant about the space or terme of Six yeares with untollerable foors all over his Body, Notwithstanding he has made use the most Learned and scilful phisitians that he could heare off; but found [no Remedy] as to his cure. And sundry Persons judgment is that the Lord hath apointed to salve your much afflicted supplicant non but our Gracious Leight the King. Therefore hee and
many

many others Humbly conceaves that it is the fors that is Commonly called the Kings Evell. And though his affection bee exceedingly Greifeous by his Inesse of Body, hee would redresse himselfe to our Sovereigne Lord the King for Remedy, not Doubting but God hath appointed him for much good to all his Subjects and in particular to your poore afflicted petitioner; but am withoulden from his goeing to his Majesty by his exceeding povrety, for one affection seldom comes without its second [yes?]

Therefore your poore affected petitioner humbly Befeeches your Excellency foe as to Consider of your poore Deplorable and much affected petitioners Condition, And that your Excellency would bee pleased to Grant him a Breife, to see what Christian people wilbe pleased freely to contrebut towards your petitioner's transportation. And in foe doing it will oblige him to pray for your Excellencys health and happiness, and subscritts himselfe

Your obliged and Dutyful Servant

WILLIAM HUTCHINS.

JUNE 19, 1688.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxix. p. 63.]

J. Blackwell, about the Bank.

²³ GENTLEMEN,



PERCEIVE you have declyned the concerning yourselves any further in the Bank affairs, for that I am informed you have returned the Rolling presse to Mr. Carter to be fold (having payd him for it) and

²³ About this bank scheme very little agers to be appointed, and the stock seems known. There were seven man- was to consist of one hundred and twelve shares,

and meet not at any time on that occasion. I have severall times also been tould by Mr Allen, that he hath wayted on some of you desiring some compensation for his time and paynes as well in directing the framing of the Rolling presse &c. as afterwards in using it for tryall of the plates and printing off some Bills; and he sayes you have not yet done it, and so seemes to mention it as if I had engaged him therein. If I did so, It was not only upon your engagement to carry on that affayre and to disburse what should be necessary in such occasions, but by your approbation and directions: and therefore think myself concerned and qualified to remember you of it, and to tell you I expect you bring me off from him, as also Mr. Usher for the Reame of paper had thence for the same occasion, which his man setts me down for at 27^s, as also for ten large skins of parchment chosen out and taken thence by Mr Addington and me for engrossing the Articles of Agreement between the Assessors and Managers, which came to 14^s 2^d. I was also in disburse 20^s to a clerke for writing out the Abstracts of the book intended to be printed, besides what I wrote with my owne hand, wherein you have had my labour and paynes, as well as other contrivances without the thanks of a glasse of wine at parting or since. I leave these things with you desiring you will communicate them to the Rest of the Gent^a concerned, and that together you will put them into a way of accommodation: and acquaint them that if they think fitt to have the articles cancelled, I shall wayt on you when you shall appoynt a time for meeting for that purpose. And if
you

shares, while, if necessary, two hundred more were to be made. From a draft of articles still on record in Massachusetts Archives, it seems the assessors were to be the four principal managers, or deputies, who are mentioned by initials as J. D., W. S., W. W., and

J. B. Others were S. L., J. R., J. A., E. H., J. —, A. W., and P. J. Of them, certainly J. Dudley, and Wm. Stoughton can be identified, and the others were probably Boston merchants. The scheme seems to have utterly failed.

you shall then think fitt to bestow on me the Rolling presse and plates, which will do no body else good, and possibly may never do me any, yet they will be some testimony of your respect, and will be accepted with such gratitude as may turn to your account, by him who once hoped he had propounded a thing gratefull to you, as you may perhaps see cause to judge of it hereafter, if the times shall therein favour me, who am Gent.

Your very affectionate friend and servant

JOHN BLACKWELL.

BOSTON, July 16th, 1688.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxix. p. 137.]

Andros to Major Gold.

NEW YORKE 25th August 1688

SIR,



HAVING some time since rec'd advice of five Indians being killed at Spectacle Ponds, and lately of five Christians killed at Northfield, and Actors not taken or knowne, but supposed to be eleven strange Indians, I cannot tell you how much I am concerned at the said mischeife and Actors Escape. You are therefore to take care that due Watch and Ward be kept in your respective out places till further Order, and give Notice to all Indians in your Parts that if any Mischeife be done by Strangers and they doe not apprehend the Actors, or if not strong enough presently give us Notice and joyne with our Militia, such Mischeifes will be imputed to them.
And

And upon notice of any such Attempts, you are to rayse such Forces as shall be necessary for the apprehending or pursuing the Actors to effect, wheresoever they fly. And to afford our Indians kind reception and protection in any of our Towns or places if desired, and that you let me heare from you of the state of your Parts, and soe from time to time as occasion.

I am Sir, Your affectionate freind

E. ANDROS.

MAJ^R GOLD.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxix. p. 195.]

Andros to Col. Tyng.

ALBANY, 20th 7^{ber} 1688

SIR,



HAVE by exprefs from Boston rec'd your Letters of the 1st 4th & 6th instants, directed to Capt. Nicholson, wherein you mention Letters rec'd from him (which I suppose for your being careful and vigilant in your station as he sayes intimated to others) and that by your seizing and disturbing the Indians you have Alarmed all your Parts and putt them in a posture of Warr, for which as I know noe Cause for your selfe nor authority; but all Officers Civill and Military to be careful and steady in doeing their dutyes in their respective stations and places as authorized, but not to make Warr. Hope that the Indians so seized and as I heare presently returned from Boston gott safe back and immediately freed . . . : (None but Criminalls being to be disturbed or detained on any

any pretence whatsoever) and all ours to be received and protected in all your towns and places if they desire it. And hope to heare all the people surpris'd in Casco and Kenebeque are well at home. And as you are not to Hinder any being vigilant nor to obstruct or Discourage none going about their Lawfull occasions either att Land or Sea, the late unwarrantable proceedings being the Occasion of all the troubles and Mischeifes in your parts.

The mischeifes and murthers lately committed att Northfield was by eleven stragling Indians from Canada who I doubt not bringing to condigne Punishment. All the Indians in these parts have been with me here, and upon Demand of all the French Captives the Maquas have already delivered me a Girle which was att hand, and thank God all well.

I am hastening to Dispatch for New Yorke and return by the way of Hartford to Boston, where Expect to heare from you of all things relating to the Quiett of your Parts.

I am Sir

Your very Affectionate Friend

LIEUT. COLL. TING.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxix. p. 245.]

John Stuart's Petition.

*To his Excellency Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, Governour
and Captain Generall in Cheife of all his Majesties
Territoryes in New England in America.*



HE most humble petition of John Stuart of Springfield in the county of Hampshiere most humbly sheweth; that whereas your poor petitioner was in service five battles under the most noble Marquess of Mount Rose in Scotland for his Majesty King Charles the first, and thereby suffered and received many dangerous wounds, whereby having escaped with his life through mercy, yet his health hath bene and is like to be deeply impayred whilst hee lives, being altogether left incapable of getting a lyvelyhood in this world for himselfe and his family, that although having a Trade which might afford him a comfortable living, hee through Gods providence was layd about three yeares last past bedrid, and so continues incapable to gaine any releife in his sad condition, and having never received one penny towards all his service wherein he was engaged, was after taken by L^d Cromwell in fight at Dunbarr, and after sent into this land, where I was sold for eight yeares service to purchase my future freedom. God having bestowed some small estate on your poor petitioner whilst he gave him ability to labour.

May it please your Excellency I had lately a horse pressed from mee for service of the country in pursuit of Indians, which dyed in the service by the wrong hee received before hee came home—Your poor petitioner was greatly disappointed by this loss which was all the Teame he had,
and

and having bin conſtrayned to buy another which coſt him 6^{li} 10^s for ſupply of his familys preſent want, although hee is very doubtfull whether this will prove ſo ſerviceable as the former did, your humble petitioner would moſt humbly crave that your Excellency would vouchſafe to a juſt and due ſatiſfaction to him for his ſo great a damage, and your petitioner ſhall daily pray for the beſt of bleſſings on your Excellency

and remayne

Your moſt unworthy humble ſervant

JOHN STUART.

SPRINGFIELD,
19th, 8^{ber}, 1688.

[Maſs. Archives, Uſurpation, vol. cxxix. p. 260.]

Boston Priſon.

*To the Honorable the Judges of his Majeſties Territory
and Dominion of New England, &c.*



HE humble Petition of Samuel Maſſey, Priſon Keeper of Boſton. Humbly ſheweth unto your Honors that your petitioner is at daly expenſe in providing dyet for ſeverall perſons Lying in his cuſtody, and ſum of them not willing to ſubmit unto tranſportation; your petitioner haveing made complant to the juſtices at quarter ſeſſions of the peace, by them being answered that ſatiſfaction to your petitioner may be onely had from the Countory and not from this County of Suffolk.

Your Petitioner therefore Humbly prayeth your Honors to Order ſum way whereby ſatiſfaction may be had, and
your

your Petitioner relefed in this matter for the mantanence of the feverall perfons named in the anexed Schedull, that your petitioner may not be difcoraged to thear further relefe whilst in Cufthody, nor they perrifh for want of fupply

And your Petitioner for your Honors fhall ever pray

The names of the feverall perfons the foregoing petition hath reference unto

ANTHONY MORE. Committed the 14th Aprill laft for a runaway Servant from Virginia.

EDMUND BIRD. Committed 7th February laft paft for felony and burnt in the hand the following Affizes.

FOUR INDIANS. Committed by Authority and Inlarged without paying thear charges.

GARRAT BOWMAN, MATHIAS WELINDROF. Committed by Authority upon Sufpicion of Supplying the Indians with armes, and Inlarged by order without paying charges.

CATHERINE HARTMAN. Committed 10th day July, Mathew Darby fwearing the peace againft her; ftill in cufthody and her hufband preft under the command of Capt. Jofeph Smith.


TWENTY-THREE INDIANS, twice committed and difcharged by order without paying for attendance or wood ufed to drefs their provifion.

Dated 30th Octob^r 1688.

[Mafs. Archives, Usurpation, vol. cxxix. p. 376.]

Act against Emigration.

Sir Edmund Andros, Knt., Captain General and Governor in Chiefe of his Majesties Territory and Dominion of New England to W^m Browne, Esq., Greeting:

²⁴  HEREAS in and by an Act intituled an Act requiring all Masters of Ships and Vessells to give security, amongst other things therein contained, it is enacted and ordained that the Master of every Ship or Vessell or some other for him in case of Difability shall waite upon the Governour or Commander in chiefe for the time being or other chiefe officer appointed, and bring a List of all passengers and give security not to Carry out of this Dominion any person without a Tickett from the Governour or such other person as shall be appointed, nor Depart himselfe with his Ship or Vessell without the like Lycense, under the penalty therein contained as in and by the said Act may more fully and at large appeare :

Now know yee that out of the good opinion I have conceived of your Integrity fitness and Ability for this service, I have Constituted, Authorized and Appointed, and by these presents doe Constitute, Authorize and Appoint you to be the

²⁴ This document has a special value from Palfrey's note, iii. 551, that he as containing so much of the text of the act against emigration. In our first document fully confirms all that was volume, pp. 80 and 204, we printed the said by the colonists about the effect contemporary notices of this act, which and extent of the law; and from many it was said was passed in New York; bonds still on record it seems that the but at that time of printing no copy penalty was usually £1000. of the law could be found. I judge

the chiefe Officer in the Port of Salem in New England, before whom all Masters of Shippes or other Vessells comeing into that Port or Dependencies are to come, and to bring a Lift of all their Passengers as aforesaid. And you are likewise Authorized and Impowered to sign Ticketts for all Passengers bound out and give Lycenses for all Masters with their Shippes or Vessells to Depart from the said Port, pursuant to the said Act, and all persons are to conforme themselves thereunto accordingly under the penaltys therein contained.

Given under my hand and Seale at Boston this fifteenth day of Aprill in the fifth year of his Majesties Reign, Anno-que Domⁱ 1689.

[In various bonds given under this act the condition is in the following words: "That if the above bounden [Master] shall not take or receive on board his said Vessell any Passengers, Servants or Slaves, and Carry them out of this his Majesties Territory and Dominion of New England without a Tickett from the Secretarys Office of said Dominion, nor Depart himself with his Shipp or Vessell without the like Lyfence, then this obligation to be void, or else to stand and remaine in full force and virtue."

A penalty of £1000 is inserted in severall of them.]

Andros's Adherents.

Names of those imprifoned with Sir Edmund Andros.

- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Jos. Dudley | 10. Cap'n. Treffey | 19. Mr Kane |
| 2. Judge Palmer | 11. Mr Justice Bullivant | 20. Mr Broadbent |
| 3. Mr Randolph | 12. Mr Justice Foxcroft | 21. Mr James Sherlock |
| 4. Lt. Col. Ledgitt | 13. Cap'n White | (Sheriff) |
| 5. Lt. Col. Macgregory | 14. Cap'n Ravenscroft | 22. Mr Larkin |
| 6. Cap'n. George | 15. Ensign Pipin | 23. Cap'n Manning |
| 7. Major Brockholes | 16. Dr Roberts | 24. Lt. Jordaine |
| 8. Mr Graham | 17. Mr Farewell | 25. Mr. Cuttler |
| 9. Mr West | 18. Mr Jemefon | |

[The above list is given in R. I. Records, vol. iii. p. 257, copied from J. Carter Brown's MSS., No. 264, vol. v.]

[Mafs. Archives, Revolution, vol. cvii. p. 109.]

Petition of John West.

FROM THE PRISON IN BOSTON, 13th June, 1689.

GENTLEMEN,



HAVE now suffered fix days Imprisonment in this place by your Order, besides above seven weeks att the Castle, which you tell me was by the act of the People. And noe Cryme or Cause being mentioned or Assigned in my Mittimus, I consider I ought not by Law to be longer detained thereupon; which desire you will Inquire into or lett me be heard, that I may have your Order for my Releasement. The Copsy of the Order by which I stand committed have Inclosed and remaine

Gentlemen, Your humble servant


JOHN WEST.

[Mafs. Archives, Revolution, vol. cvii. pp. 248, 249.]

Andros's Capture.

NEWPT ON RHOAD ISLAND, Aug. 5, 1689.

HONO^{RED} SIR

UR Gov^r not being free to be active in the Affaires concerning Sir Edmond's confinement or to wright to you, eloaging many Reafons why he cannot be Active, I haveing fpoken with Capⁿ Church and read your Letter, and finding you have no certaine knowledge whether Sir Edmond Andrews be fecured, I taking it to be my Duty (and as I judge this weighty manner concernes us all) doe certainly informe you, that Sir Edmond Andrews came into our Towne, y^e 3^d day of Aug^t 1689, being Satherday, a litle after noone, and after much Agitation of y^e Authority and People, it was Concluded by y^e Majority y^t it was most fafe for our felves and y^e whole Country, y^t he should be fecured, which was emediately don (before fun fett) and conducted to Lift^t Colonell Peleg Sanfords houle, the place concluded on for his confinement where now he is, haveing a confiderable gard of fouldiers about y^e houle both night and day ever fince (which is noe litle charge) expecting what you and your Hono^{red} Councell will conclude concerning hime. I fuppofe Capt. Church will wright more larg in particulars, I cannot enlarg being in great haft. My humble fervice presented.

Your real friend and fervant

JOHN COGGESHALL, Dep^t Gov^r

NEWPORT Aug. 5th. 1689

HON^d SIR

YOURS of the 4th Instant rec^d concerning Sir Ed^m Andros who was by severall Inhabitants of Newport, immediately after knowledge of his being in towne, put under strict Gard, and after some conference confined a Prisoner unto my House, upon the 3^d present before sunn setting. The people are full of carefull thought for their owne and Country's safety and are fully Resolved to secure his person here until further consideration; can certainly inform their Intentions and actions are for the generall interest. They will consider and advise with the principle Gentlemen of the respective townes of the Goverⁿ, and in order thereunto notices given forth and Meeting desired which hope will accomplish a Resolve.

I am, Sir, Your Hon^{rs} humble serv^t

PELEG SANFORD.

 [P. 249.]

BOSTON 6, Aug. 1689

HONO^{ED} SIR,

YOURS of the 5th inst came to hand this morning about 9 a clock, whereby you certainly Informed of the securing of Sir Edmund Andros and confining him a Prisoner under Guards at your house. Your diligence and care in that matter for the generall good of the whole Country is to be acknowledged with all thankfulnes. The Councill have dispatched away Cap^{ne} Tho: Prentis with his Troop and L^{ieut} Swift with a party to be a Guard for the safe bringing and conducting Sir Edmund unto Boston; they come the common Road

Road to Seaconck, desiring your self and Gentlemen with you by the assistance of your Guards safely to conduct him over the Ferry to Bristole. The Councill haveing written to Major Walley at Bristole to provide a sufficient Guard to receive and secure him there, so to forward him on the Road this way untill the Guards from hence come up with them; not doubting of your readines to direct and Order in this publique concern so as may be most safe for the whole. With the tenders of Service and Respects unto you

Subscribe,

Sir Your assured Friend and Servant

S. BRADSTREET, GOV^r

By advice of the Councill

Is^a ADDINGTON Sec^y.

[Superfcribed. For the Honrd Peleg Sanford, Esq^{re} at Rhode Island
These Haft, Post Haft. for their Mat^{ies} Service]

[P. 250.]

NEWPORT ON ROAD ISLAND, Aug the 5th 1689

MUCH HON^d SIR,

I REC^d yours dated the fourth of this instant, being now willing as always to Serve their Ma^{ties} and the Country. Sir, I ariving here the last night found Sir Edmund Andros seized and secured and guarded with sufficient Guard, by the Gentlemen and Inhabitants of the Island. I thought it convenient fourthwith to give your Honor an account thereof, the gentlemen concurring with me. Sir, my oppinion is that it is convenient forthwith to send a Guard for him, that may convey him safe to Boston from whence he came. I think it not convenient nor safe for the Country to have him

him here, finding them very desirous to have him removed to Boston. If you please to dispatch an account of your guards coming up, we may provably meet them on the road. The Council of Rhode Island is this day sent for, and I hope you shall soon have an account what they intend to do as for their advice in that matter which I am concerned with. Having no farther matter to present your Honor, with my most humble Service in haste remain

Sir, Your most humble Servant whilest,

BENJAMIN CHURCH.

[P. 251.]

BOSTON Aug^t y^e 6, 1689

CAPT CHURCH,

Yours dated the 5th instant we have received and thank you for your care and readiness to serve their Ma^{ties} and your Country. We have recd also a letter from Mr Cogshall, the Deputy Governor of Rhode Island, giving an account of their proceedings with Sir Edmund Andros, and for the conveying him hither refers us to your letter, according to which we have ordered the Guards to move towards your town as possibly, which will be about one or two this afternoon (they being ordered yesterday to Rendezvous at Dorchester and Roxbury this day at noon then to receive orders for their march. We have also writt Mr Cogshall and Major Sanford that they will please convey Sir Edmund to the ferry at Bristol and to Major Wally to receive him there with their forces and bring him forward till our guards meet them on the road; who we doubt will be strength enough to secure him hither being three troops of horse.

Sir,

Sir, as soone as the present hurry is over with you, please to forward our busines with the Councill there. Not else at present but due respects from

Your loving friend and servant,

S. B. Gov^r

To Capt. BENJ^A CHURCH
at Bristoll.

ESTEEMED : After due Respects : Wee Refeved yours dated Boston August the 4th, 1689, and doe signifie in Answer to yours that Sur Edmund Andros is heere under Gard in Newport. And that I have fomoned the Generall Counsell to Consult that affare, of which Answer will be sent, is all from yours to serve

WALTER CLARKE

NEWPORT, this fift daye of
August, 1689.

[P. 254.]

BRISTOL, the 5th Aug. 1689

HONOURED SIR,

HAVEING information on Satterday night that Sir Ed. Andros was at Newport and people gathering together with a design to feize him ; As it was most proper, foe wee doubted not but they from thence had given you information ; and wee the rather believed it because reported that one rid post through this Town that evening : but least it were a mistake or they should neglect wee took care forthwith by credible hands to send an account as far as wee had heard with what speed wee could. The people wondred he had been gone foe long before any notice given in these parts. That they
feized

feized him and secured him you have had an account of before this, and what they farther intend you will be enformed of from them by the bearer and your own messengers. It is thought the chiefe of the Quakers and some others are for his escape; it is no place to think he will be kept safe any time. Whereas wee lye between Rhoad Island and you, if in order to his being conveyed within the bounds of your Colony there be any thing proper for us to doe, if it be signyfied what you desire or expect therein, there will a ready compliance and sufficient care if they see cause to deliver him. But if you advise to any other way, if you see good, let us be informed. I write in hast, the post staying. I shall not add but my humble service which desire God to guide you in all your difficultys that lye before you. I take leave and rest

Your much obliged Servant

JOHN WALLEY

BRISTOL, ye 8th Aug. 1689.

HONoured SIR,

I REC^d yours of the 6th Instant but the motion of your Troops being with more speed then was expected they were here before the Islanders were come to any determination. Capt Prentice forthwith after his coming to Bristol and refreshing him selfe went to the Island and my selfe and some others accompanied him Persons there were of many minds, the result whereof you have from Capt Prentice. Sir Edm. is now at my house; his motion will be slow by reason of his indisposition. Sir, wee have been very carefull to avoid tumults and any incivility that might be offered, and wee hope the like care will be used in the other parts;
and

and Sir, it is the dearest desire of my selfe and severall Gentlemen of these parts that Sir Edmund, though with all care yet with as much privacy as may be, might be conveyghed by the way of Dorchester or that wayes, to the Castle. It will be extreemly well taken by him and I hope you will gratyfie him, us, and among your selves herein; he desires, at least at present, that he may not come to Boston. Sir, I have not to add but shall be serviceable to the maine and that is designed, so far as I am capable

With service presented I subscribe

Your Honours most humble servant,

JOHN WALLEY.

August 8. 1689.

TO THE HON^{ED} GOVERNOR AND COUNSILL,

AND please your Honors having received orders from you with my Troop to Bristoll to move, in order to receive Sir Edmond Andros from the Gentlemen at Rhod. Island, from Roxbury about 3 of the clock we moved away to Mr. Woodcoks, on Wednesday to Bristol just after noon; coming to Rhod Island same day: the counsell being discoursed with much civilitie they delivered Sir Edmond, and with a passag boate sent us to Bristoll. And Sir Edmond complaining of indisposition of body to ride either swift or far together, our return will not be as your Honors may expect. The gentlemen of Bristoll favoured us with their advise and company to Rhoad Island. Please your Honors it is requested by Sir Edmond and requested by the forenamed Gentlemen that Sir Edmond may be convoyed by Dorchester to the Castle, if your Honors please there to secure him and open our approach towards Boston we will give you

you an account thereof for fuitable opportunitie for our
guarding him to foresaid place. This being in haft for
opportunitie of sending

I subcribe your Honors humble Servant

THOMAS PRENTIS.
Cap.

[P. 257.]

REHOBOTH, the 9th Aug. 1689.

HONOURED SIR,

OURS from Bristol wee hope you have rec^d. Sir Edm.
Andros is now at Rehoboth and we expect to be at Wood-
stocks or wadeing River this night, as your orders may be
and as is much desired. Orders at Billings might save eight
or ten miles rideing. Wee hope that your honour with the
Councill will at least at present order that Sir Edm. may by
the way of Dorchester be conveyed to the Castle, and that
you will take care for boats in a fuitable place to be in ready-
nesse; tomorrow in the afternoon wee hope wee might be
there, but wee shall expect orders, and if possible desire wee
may meet it at Billings. Sir Edm. is not willing to com-
plaine, but he rides with paine and difficulty and eight mile
saved might be some ease besides otherways acceptable.
Shall not add but service presented and subscribe

Your Honors much obliged

JOHN WALLEY
THOMAS PRENTIS
cap.
SAMUEL WHITE
THOMAS SWIFT.

[Mss. Archives, Revolution, vol. cvii. p. 309.]

Petition of John West.

PRISON, 10th 7^{ber} 1689.

GENTLEMEN,



ON the 7th of June last I was by vertue of an Order signed by Thomas Danforth in the name and by the Order of the Governor and Councill, together with the Representatives then assembled: Committed to the Custody of the Keeper of the Prison in Boston, who was ordered to receive me and did receive me accordingly. And under his Custody I have suffered above thirteen weeks very hard and close Confinement without any Cryme layd to my Charge worthy of Imprisonment. But yesterday the keeper of the Prison in the presence and heareing of severall credible persons, declared to me publiquely that he was not my keeper and did not keep me in Prison, nor would further be concerned in my Confinement; but if I would goe into the Goale he would open the doore. By which I looked upon my self fully discharged from that order and his custody, and expected my Liberty accordingly; which I was hindred from the enjoyment of, by some Armed men who were att the prison, and last night without any command or direction of the Keeper, I was forced into the Stone Goale againe by a great Company of Armed men, without any further Order or warrant, and am by their force only detained, which I presume is Contrary to all Law and Justice; and to my great Injury and Oppression. I doe therefore humbly desire your Consideration of the premises and that I may be Released from this forcible and unjust confinement. Expecting your Justice herein I remain

Your humble Servant

JOHN WEST.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxv. p. 36.]

Petition of J. Dudley.

GENTLEMEN,



HAVE suffered near six months Imprisonment to the very great hurt of my health, and occasions necessary for the support of a great family, above twelve weeks, since at the direction of Mr Addington and as he acquainted me by order of your selves, I gave a very extraordinary and unusuall bond to obtayn but the sight of my family, and the benefit of so much air as was necessary to save me from perishing; which lasted me but three or four Hours, when I received a very urgent letter from Mr Bradstreet for my return to the Prison to save the Rout of the people at that Instant. I have since been often told that a very few days should bring me that ease and rest which I desired, but the time is lapsed hitherto and now the winter is approaching, the Inconveniencies whereof I am unable to bear. I entreat you at length to consider and resolve what may be agreeable to Reason and Justice. and not to see my destruction and ruine; but to show me the Kindness of a brother as God knoweth I am. I have no interest nor hopes but what is in common with my Country whose present suffering I take my share of, and hope that no body professing religion can take pleasure in the strange methods of Late used towards mee.

I am Gentlemen

Your Humble Servant

J. DUDLEY

4 Oct. 1689.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxv. p. 41.]

Petition of James Sherlock.

GENTLEMEN,

AS I would not be guilty of using any indirect meanes to obteyne my liberty, so neither would I be wanting to my selfe in foliciting you Gentlemen for my enlargement. I am not conscious to my selfe that I have deserved so hard treatment, and quietly submit to the Providence of God from whome I have deserved much more ; twenty fower weeks Imprisonment is a punishment adequate to a great Crime : therefore shall repeate my Prayers to you Gentlemen for my discharge from this place and your directions therein, and shall remain

Gentlemen Your most humble servant

JAMES SHERLOCK

From the Prison
Octo. the 5th, 1689.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxv. p. 42.]

Petition of Mrs. Sarah Palmer.

To the honorable the Governor, Councill and Representatives

THE humble petition of Sarah Palmer, Sheweth That whereas your petitioner's husband, Mr John Palmer, now a Prisoner att the Castle is very much troubled with the Goute and other distempers of body, and is there confined in a roome with Sir Edmund Andros and Mr Graham where noe fire can be made

made nor attendance upon as his distempers require, to the great danger and hazard of his life.

Your petitioner therefore prays that the said Mr John Palmer may be removed from the Castle to his dwelling house in Boston, giving good security to be a true prisoner there, and to answer such things as shall be objected against him on their Majesties behalfe.

And your petitioner will ever pray, &c.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxv. p. 34.]

Petition of Rachel Whitmore.²⁵

To the Hon. Simon Bradstreet, Esq., Governor, and the rest of the Honored Magistrates now sitting in Boston, The humble petition of Rachell Whitmore, wife of John Whitmore.



HEREAS, your Petitioner's husband was impressed into the Countreyes service against the Indian Enemy, and is now with Major Swayne at Newechawanick,²⁶ and your Petitioner and her two children are very weake and ill, and unable to help ourselves

²⁵ She was the daughter of Francis Eliot, of Braintree, and niece of the Rev. John Eliot. She was born 26th Oct. 1643; m. first John Poulter, and secondly Dea. John Whitmore, of Medford. In the "Heraldic Journal," vol. iv. p. 182, will be found the will of Benit Eliot, father of John and Francis, several of whose children were baptized at Nazing, co. Essex. Recent investigations have proved that John and one or two more of the children

were baptized at a village in the same county, and I am assured that the pedigree of the family for several preceding generations will be definitely ascertained.

²⁶ Newechawanick, now Bristol, Me. A letter in the same volume, pp. 38-40, from Jer. Swayne, is dated "Newechewonock Salmon falls in Barwick, Oct. 4, 1689," and that may settle the date of this petition.

selves and do any thing for our Relief and the rest of the family, as severall of the neighbors can and have informed your Honors.

Doth therefore humbly request the favour from your Honors that her husband John Whitmore may be dismissed the present service, and that your Honors would please to pass your Order for the same, that he may return to his sick family, and your Petitioner shall, as in duty bound, ever pray, &c.

RACHEL WHITMORE.

[Mss. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxv. p. 78.]

Order against seditious publications.



HEREAS many papers have beene lately printed and disperfed tending to the disturbance of the peace and subversion of the government of this their Majesties Colonie, King William and Queen Mary. It is therefore ordered that if any person or persons within this Collony be found guilty of any such like Misdemeanour of printing, publishing or concealing any such like papers or discourses, or not timely discover such things to Authority, or doe any act or thing that tends to the disturbance of the peace or the subversion of this government, they shall be accounted enemies to their Majesties present Government and be proceeded against as such with uttermost severity

Nov. 8th, 1689. Passed in the affirmative by the Representatives

EBENEZER PROUT, Clerk.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxv. p. 108.]

Petition of J. Dudley.

BOSTON, Dec^r 9, 1689

GENTLEMEN,



AM not acquainted from yourselves what his Majestyes Commands are referring to my self, or your owne resolves thereupon, but take leave to advise you that after seven months imprisonment I am very much indisposed and stand in need of better convenience and attendance than I can have in this place of Restraint. I have many occasions, that a great family and my disordered Estate by the losse of my servants and otherwise, stand in need to be settled; and my wife incapable to come to mee. I am Willing to give any Security that shall be demanded of me, to shew my self in Obedience to his Majestyes Order whatever it bee, and desire that I may have the benefit of my family and the Opportunity to settle my affaires, that I may bee just to all persons with whome I have been concerned, and do my duty in providing for and settling my family as religion and nature require of mee; and Desire that you will allow mee opportunity foe to do, and am

Your servant

J. DUDLEY.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxv. p. 109.]

Petition of John West.

PRISON IN BOSTON, 11th Dec. 1689

GENTLEMEN,



AMONGST the many Books, papers and Writeings which on the 18th Aprill past were in the Secretarys Office under my Care and Charge, when the same Office was forcibly broake open, and they taken and Conveyed away, were severall books, papers and accounts which perticularly related to me and my private Concernes, and are yett kept from me to my Damage. I doe therefore Desire that I may have the Liberty to looke over the said books, papers, and Writeings in the presence of such person or persons as you shall think fitt, and that such as doe belong to me or relate to my private Concernes may be Restored. I have been long a Prisoner but know not yett for what Reason or Cause, which hath been and is greatly to the prejudice of my person and Losse of my Estate; and now being Informed that you have Received orders from his Majestie relating to all under Confinement your Resolves upon which judge will be made knowne to us when you think convenient. I doe further desire my Enlargement upon Security to be forthcomeing to attend such orders as shall be given pursuant to his Majesties Commands, that I may be in a Condition to fettle my Affairs and make some better Provision for my selfe and family then my present Confinement will permitt me to doe. Your favour herein will oblige me to remaine

Your humble servant

JOHN WEST.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxv. p. 110.]

³⁷ Petition of Dudley and others.

PRISON IN BOSTON, 13th Dec. 1689.

GENTLEMEN,



APT. FAYERWEATHER yesterday by your order brought us the Signification of his Majesties Commands to which wee doe with all duty and Readyness humbly submitt: And desire you to Lett us know when and upon what ship you designe to send us. And to order our Enlargement upon such Security as you think fitt to Demand, that wee may settle our private Affaires and prepare accordingly.

We are your humble servants,

J. DUDLEY
ED. RANDOLPH
J. PALMER
JOHN WEST
JAMES SHERLOCK
GEO. FAREWELL.

³⁷ A similar paper is signed by E. Andros and Ja. Graham. In the same volume, p. 149, is another letter from the prisoners, dated Dec. 26th, in which they "demand that his Majesties said Commands may be effectually executed

by our being forthwith put on board one of the said ships and the same presently dispatched for England without further delay." Jan. 3d it was voted by the Representatives to send the prisoners by Capt. Martin.

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxv. p. 165.]

Note from J. Riggs to Danforth.

To the Honourable the Deputy Governour.

SIR,



HAVEING sent up to you that I have buifeneffe to communicate to you and the rest of the Councill concerning his Majesties service, and haveing reseived your answer that you are at present buifey, I waite and desire admittance to be heard before your adjournment this day.

Yours

JOHN RIGGS²⁸

6th JANUARY, '89. [1689-90.]

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxv. p. 231.]

Extradition of Andros.

*[To such as for the Time being take Care for preserving the Peace and Administring the Laws in our Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England in America.]*²⁹



HEREAS Sir Edmond Andros, K^t, Late Governour of our Dominion of New England, has been seized by some People in Boston, and is detained under close Confinement there, together with Edward Randolph, John Trefry, and Divers others,
our

²⁸ This I take to be the servant of Andros, mentioned by Palfrey, iii. 585.

²⁹ The heading is omitted in this copy, but is given in other places.

our Subjects, Who have humbly requested us that they may be either sett at Liberty, or sent in safe Custody into England to answer before us what may be objected against them; we do hereby will and require that the said Sir Edmond Andros, Edward Randolph, John Trefry and others our Subjects, that have been in like manner seized by the said People of Boston; and shall be at the Receipt of these Our Commands detained there under Confinement, be forthwith sent on Board the first ship bound hither, to answer before us what may be Objected against them, and that you take care that they be Civilly used in their Passage from New England, and safely Conveyed to our Royall Presence

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, this Thirtieth Day of July, 1689, in the First year of Our Reign

By his Ma^{ty}'s Command

NOTTINGHAM.

(Copy)

To GILBERT BANT, Commander
of the Ship Mehetabel.

PURSUANT to his Majesties Commands in his Gracious Letter of the 30th of July last past, Copy whereof is above written you are required in their Majesties Names to receive into your charge and custody on board the ship Mehetabel, whereof you are Commander, now bound for England, Sir Edmund Andros, Knt, Joseph Dudley, Esq^r, Mr Edward Randolph, Mr John Palmer, Mr John West, Mr James Grayham, Mr James Sherlock and Mr George Farewell; Every of them herewith delivered unto you by Cap^{ne} John Fayerweather, and them safely to convey according to his Majesties Commands

mands in said Letters, which you are exactly to Observe in all Respects. Hereof faile not as you will answer the contrary at your peril. Dated at Boston within the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, the fifth day of February 1689, in the First year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady William and Mary, by the Grace of God King and Queen of England, &c.

SIM: BRADSTREET, Governor
in the name of the Gen'all Court.

BY virtue of the within written Precept, signed by the Hon^{ble} Simon Bradstreet, Esq^{re}, Governor, pursuant to his Majesties Commands, I have received (together with the said Precept and Copy of his Majesties Commands there above written) into my charge and custody on board the ship Mehetabel, the severall persons named in the said precept, viz^t Sir Edmond Andros, Knt. Joseph Dudley, Esq^{re}, Mr Edward Randolph, Mr John Palmer, Mr John West, Mr James Grayham, Mr James Sherlock and Mr George Farewell. As also a Letter from the Government directed to the Right Hon^{ble} the Earle of Nottingham, One of his Ma^{ties} most Hon^{ble} Privy Councill, and Principall Secretary of State for his Ma^{ties} Service.


pr GILBERT BANT

BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND,
9th February, 1689 [1689/90].

[Mafs. Archives, Inter Charter, vol. xxxv. p. 240.]

ALBANY, the 15th day of Feb. 1689/90.

HONORED GENTLEMEN,

 O our great greeffe and Sorrow, we must acquaint you with our Deplorable Condition, there having never the like Dreadfull massacre and murther been Committed in these Parts of America; as hath been acted by the French and there Indians at Shinnechtady, 20 miles from Albanie betwixt Saturday and Sunday last at ii a clok at night. A Companie of Two hundred french and Indians fell upon said village and murthered fixty men women and children most barbarously, burning the Place and carried 27 along with them Prisoners; among which the leiftenant of Capt Bull, Enos Talmadge, and 4 more of said Company were killed and 5 taken prisoners, the rest being Inhabitants; and above 25 Persones there limbes frozen in the flight.

The Cruelties committed at said Place no Penn can write nor Tongue expresse: the women bigg with Childe rip'd up and the Children alive throwne into the flames, and there heads dash'd in pieces against the Doors and windows.

But what shall we say; — we must lay our hands upon our mouth and be silent. It is God's will and pleasure and we submitt; it is but what our Sinns and Transgressions have deserved: and since generally human things are Directed by outward means, so we must ascribe this sad misfortune to the factions and Divisions which were amongst the People and there great Diffobedience to there officers; for they would Obey no Commands or keep any watch, so that the Enemy having discovered their negligence and security by there praying Maquase Indians, (who were in the said place 2 or 3 days

3 days before the attaque was made), Came in and broak open their verry doors before any soule knew of it; the Enemy divideing themselves in 3 severall Companies came in at 3 severall Places, no gates being shutt, and seperated themselves 6 or 7 to a house, and in this manner begunn to Murther, spareing no man till they see all the houses open and master'd: and so took what Plunder they would, loading 30 or 40 of the best horses, and so went away about 11 or 12 a clock at noon on Sabbath day.

It was as if the heavens combined for the Destruction of that poor Villadge; that Saturday night a Snow fell above knee deep and dreadfull cold, and the poor people that escaped and brought us the news about break of day, did so much increase the number of the Enemy that we all concluded there was a considerable Army coming to fall upon our City, as was affirmed were upon there march hither; we being told not only then but the day after that they were 1900 att least. We sent out some few horse forth with after we had received the news, but scarcely could get through the deep snow, some whereof got to that desolate Place, and there being some few Maquase here in Towne, we got them to goe thither with our men in Companie, to send messengers in all haste to the Maquase Castles, and to spye where the Enemy went, who were not verry free to goe, the snow being so deep and afraid of being Discovered by there tract: but comeing to the village were in such consternation seeing so many people and cattle kill'd and burnt, that it was not effected till 2 days after, when we heard that the Maquase knew nothing of it, upon which messengers were sent, and the Maquase of the first and 2d. Castle came down in 24 houres, whom we sent out with some of our young men in Pursute of the Enemy. Afterwards the Maquase of the 3d. Castle came doune who are also gone out, but are afraid will not overtake them, and which is worfe,

worfe, if they doe fynde them fear will doe them no great hurt, the Indians amongft them being all of the kindred of our Indians: for the Policy of the French is fo great that they Declare to fome of the Maquafe which they found at Shinnechtady that they would not doe the Maquafe harm, yea if they fhould burn and deftroy never fo many houfes at Canida and kill never fo many French, they would not touch a hayr of there head; for there Gouvernor had fuch an Inclination to that People, he would live in peace with them; nay to gain the hearts of the Maquafe whatever they defyred at Shinnechtady was granted, the women and children that were left alive upon there defyre were Released and faved, the very houfes where the Maquafe lay at were faved upon there Request: fo that they leave no Stone unturn'd to bring the Indians to there Devotion

The 40 Maquafe that were out as Skouts at the Lake, whom we furnifhed with Pouder and Lead to lye there a purpofe, we muft conclude have knowne nothing of the Enemies comeing; for they had pofted themfelves at one of the Passages the Enemy was paff by; which we muft Impute to there negligence

The faid French had Belts of wampum along with them which they showed to a Maquafe Squae at Shinnechtady, which they design'd to have given to our Indians upon Propofalls of Peace, if they had met with any upon the way; foe that we muft conclude they want nothing but a Peace with our Indians to deftroy all thefe parts.

Our Maquafe have got one of there Indians prifoner, whom they have Tortur'd and afterwards have Released him, but deliver'd him into our Custody; for we fear'd he would make his Escape and Runn away to the Enemy: the faid Indian confeffes that there were 600 men preparing to come out upon this place or N. England, and one hundred men were gone out againft Skach Rook Indians which was
besides

besides this 200 men; and that this Company had been 22 days from Canida.

After the French had done the principall mischeeffe at Shinnechtady, Capt. Sander a Justice that lives crosse the River was sent for by the Captain of the French, who had put himself in a posture of defence in his fort, with the men that he could get by him; when 13 came there and told him they should not fear, for there orders was not to wrong a chicken of his, upon which Capt. Sanders ordered them to lay doune there arms, and so were let in, where they left one man for a hostage, and Capt Sander went to there commander who told him he had commiission to come and pay a debt which they owed. Col Dongan, our Governor, had stirr'd up our Indians to doe mischeeff at Canida, and they had done the same here; and pulling his Commiission out of his bosom, told he was strikly charged not to doe any harm to him or his, since he but especially his wife had been so charitable to the French prisoners: so that Capt. Sanders saved fundry houses from being burnt and women and children from being carried away: but the Snow was so extream deep that it was impossible for any woman to march a mile; so that they took none but men and boys that could march.

As soon as the Maquase of the first and 2d Castle came doune and see the Ruines of Shinnechtady were very much greev'd. The 2 principall Captaine said to Mr Wessels and some other gentlemen that were sent from Albany to Dispatch the Christians and Indians away in Pursute of the French —

Now you see your Blood spilt and this is the beginning of your miseries if not suddenly Prevented; Therefore write to all them that are in Covenant with us, viz^t New England, Virginia and all the English Plantations of America to make all Readinesse to master Canida, early in the Spring with great Shipps, else you cannot live in Peace. You say your
King

King is a great king and you are very numerous here in the Country, far above the French. You are foe, but now is the time to show it; else the more you are, the greater shame it is to suffer the French to be master: and then we and all the 5 nations, yea all the farr nations must acknowledge you for a great People and master of the French if you now subdue it; But hitherto we see the French are the Soldiers; they have been at the northwest and killed the English there; they have killed the Indians at the Sinnikes Country, and now they come here and kill the Dutch, (meaning the Inhabitants of Shinnechtady who were formerly of the Dutch nation). They are victorious wherever they goe — Them of New England have told us they would destroy Canida: we have much Depended upon there great Promises since we know they are Potent enough to doe it and now we know there is open warr. If we were but assured that the English would minde there Interest now and make Ready against the Spring, we would keep them in alarm: we must goe hand in hand and Destroy the French: we hope that your Government with men is come, which you have often told us of. You told us also that your King of England was so Potent that he had blokt up the French havens; yet the French governor is come and we hear nothing of yours. In the meantime we goe out now with fixty Maquase of the first and 2nd Castle, 25 River Indians besides the Christians, and above 100 men of the 3rd Castle are coming to morrow, we will pursue the Enemy and doubt not but to overtake them too and Rescue the Prisoners.

Now Gentlemen the Indians speak well, yet we are satisfied by all there actions that they will side with the strongest, and the Indians that are among the French are all of our Indians Relations; so it cannot be Imagined that they will destroy onanother. Therefore if there Majestyes Subjects
doe

doe not Rife like one only man againſt the French, there Majeſties Intereſt in this parts will be deſtroyed; and they once being rooted out, all your Evills which ſpring from them as the fountain will be quash'd: the longer we ſtay the worſe it will be, for we muſt doe it at laſt, and then probably after we have loſt many hundreds of our People which would be fitt to help in ſuch an Expedition. We have felt the ſmart of that nation and pray God our neighbours may not come to the ſame Diſaſter. We are ſatiſfied they did not deſign to deſtroy Shinnechtady but all our out Plantations, but ſyndeing them ſo ſecure, ſett upon them and left the other untoucht, thinkeing they could never Eſcape their Cruelties.

Dear neighbours and friends, we muſt acquaint you that nevir poor People in the world was in a worſe Condition than we are at Preſent, no Governour nor Command, no money to forward any Expedition and ſcarce Men enough to maintain the City; and we muſt conclude there only aim is this place, which once being attain'd, the 5 nations are rent from the Engliſh Crowne, and in ſtead of being a Bulwark to theſe Dominions as hitherto they have proov'd, will help to Ruine and Deſtroy the Countrey and lay all waſte. We have here plainly laid the caſe before you and doubt not but you will ſo much take it to heart and make all Readineſſe in the Spring to invade Canida by water. We pray God continually for the arrivall of our Governour, without which we can doe but litle, haveing enough to doe to keep the Indians to our ſide with great Expence: for there Diſtractions and Revolutions at New Yorke hath brought us into a miſerable condition; that without your aſſiſtance and the 50 men from N. Yorke we ſhould not be able to keep the place if any Enemy came.

We begg an answer with all haſte that we may ſatiſfy the Indians: we write to N. Yorke and other parts, of our mean condition

condition. We long much to hear from your honors, having sent an Indian Expreſſe the 15th January laſt with what papers related to the Indians at that time; ſince whene our meſſengers are come from Onnondage and the Indians all declare to be faithfull to this Government. We have writt to Col. Pynchon to warn the upper towns to be upon there garde, feareing that ſome French and Indians might be out to Deſtroy them.

We have no more to add in theſe troubleſome times but that we are

Honorable Gentlemen,
Your moſt humble and obed^t ſervants
the Convention of Albanie³⁰

P. SCHUYLER, Mayor.
DIRCK WESSELL
K. V. RENSSELAER

³⁰ I have not ſeen elſewhere ſo full an account of this maſſacre. Beſides the names of Schuyler, Weſſells, and Van Renſſelaer, perhaps another is

added on the original; but it is illegible, and is more probably a designation, as "ſchepens," or ſome ſuch word.



[EXTRACTS

FROM

Cotton Mather's "Parentator," or Memoirs
of Increase Mather.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS ADDED.]



PREFATORY NOTE.



³⁰ THE following section contains a reprint of certain portions of Cotton Mather's Life of his father, Increase Mather, together with such documents as illustrate the text. The title of the original book is as follows: "Parentator. Memoirs of Remarkables in the Life and the Death of the Ever-Memorable Dr. Increase Mather, Who Expired August 23, 1723. (2 Kings ii. 12.) My Father, my Father. — Boston: Printed by B. Green for Nathaniel Belknap, at the Corner of Scarlet's Wharff. 1724." 12mo. pp. xiv, 329, and 5 added.

I begin with chapter, or article, xxiii. p. 99, of the Remarkables, as being the commencement of Increase Mather's important public labors in behalf of his country. The general subject is treated in the memoir prefixed to the second volume of these Tracts, to which reference is made for the antecedents of Mather to this date.





Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather.

ARTICLE XXIII.

New Troubles on the Country.



IN the Year 1686. *New England* saw it self delivered into the Hands of Sr. *Edmund Andros*, whom K. *James II.* made the Governour of the Country, with as *Arbitrary*, (and one may say *Treasonable*) Commission, as ever any part of the English Nation was abused withal, a Commission by which the Governour, with three or four more *Unreasonable Men*, whereof none were Chosen by the People, had power to make what *Laws* they would, and Levy *Taxes* according to their own Humours upon the People; and he himself had power to send the best Men in the Land more than Ten Thousand Miles out of it, as he Pleased. The Case of poor *New-England* was now, what Old *Wendover* tells of the Time, when *Strangers* domineer'd over *Subjects* in *England*; *Judicia committebantur Fugistis, Leges Exlegibus, pax Discordantibus, Justitia Fuguriosis*; and *Foxes* were made the Administrators of Justice to the *Poultry*. It would make a Long and a Black Story, to tell a Tenth Part of the *Vile Things* done, by that *Scandalous Crue* which then did what they would in the Administration of the Government: even *Randolph* himself who was then their Secretary; Confessed in a Letter of his, which anon came

came to Light ; *They were as Arbitrary as the Great Turk.* But the Awakened and Alarmed People in the *English Nation*, began to take notice in their Public Remonstrances, of what was doing at *New-England*, as an Essay of the *French Government*, whereunto *England* was then hurrying with a *Phaetontic* Præcipation. The Administration, was almost entirely a Complication of Shameless and Matchless *Villanies*. The *Honest Gentlemen* in the Council were Overlooked and Browbeaten, and rendred insignificant. Three or Four *Finished Villians* did what they Pleas'd : There was no *Controlling of them*. Among other Instances of the *Vile Things* in it, there was This Comprehensive One ; The *Banditi* gave out, that the *Charters* being lost, all the *Title* that the People had unto their *Lands* was lost with them ; (for which a small Defect in the Legal and Public Settlements of them, was Pretended :) and therefore they began to Compel the People every where to take *Patents* for their *Lands*. Accordingly *Writs of Intrusion* were Issued out against the Chief Gentlemen in the Territory ; by the Terror whereof many were driven to Petition for *Patents*, that they might Enjoy the Lands, which had been Fifty or Sixty Years in their Possession : But for these *Patents* there were such Exorbitant Prizes Demanded, that *Fifty Pounds* could not Purchase for its Owner an Estate not Worth *Two Hundred* : nor could all the Money and Moveables in the Territory have Defray'd the Charges of *Patenting* the Lands at the Hands of these *Crocodiles* ; Besides the Considerable Quitrents for the King. Indeed, the *Bruitish Things* done by these *Wild Beasts of the Earth*, are too Many to be Related, and would be too *Bruitish* to be Believed. Guess what was to be Expected, from a Parcel of *Hungry Wretches*, who had cast off all *Sense* and all *Face of Honesty*, and who Publickly told the Poor People, *They must not think that the Priviledges of Englishmen would follow them*

them to the Ends of the Earth ; And, They had no more Priviledges left but This, that they were not Bought and Sold for Slaves. In short, All was done, that might be expected from a Kirk, Except the Bloody Part But That was coming on. The Lives of the Best Men began to be Practised on. The Learned, Pious, Peaceable Mr. Morton for That ! And Mr. Mather stood fair, for that from which he thought he had been Delivered.

In this Time, you may be sure, Mr. Mather had not forgot his *Old Stroke*. I find him still at *Prayer* as much as ever : And still under the like Impressions ! Take a Touch or two. As 1687. was coming on, I find him Writing, on one Day, thus. *After I came home from the Public Labours of the Lords Day, as I was alone in my Study Praying for Good Tidings out of England, I was Exceedingly Melted before the Lord. On another Day, thus. I sought unto GOD in Secret with Tears, that He would send Reviving News out of England : And I could not but Believe that He will do so. He had them Immediately.*

ARTICLE XXIV.

Whitehall, after many Obstructions Repair'd unto.



THE King in the beginning of that Year, [Just Three Years & an Half, after ——] Published his, *Declaration of Indulgence* ; which the *Protestant Dissenters* had abundance of Reason to be Thankful for ; inasmuch as it *brought them out of their Graves* : And if it assumed an Illegal Power of *Dispensing with Laws*, yet in Relation to *Them*, it only Dispensed with the Execution of such Infamous *Laws* as were *ipso facto* Null and Void before : *Laws* contrary to the *Laws* of GOD,
and

and the *Rights* and *Claims* of Humane Nature. Be fure, the *New-English* Proteftants, found the Benefit of the *Declaration*; for it refcued the Malign'd Churches of *New-England* out of a Devourers Talons, when he was juft on the point making many Violent Invaſions upon them. The *Minifters* hereupon at Mr. *Mathers* motion, made an Addrefs of Thanks to the King, for the Benefit which they enjoy'd by his *Declaration*; and it Proved a confiderable Service to the Country. But then he Moved, that the *Churches*, as well as their *Paftors*, might come into ſuch an Action; which alfo was readily complied withal. The Adverſary was enough Enraged at theſe things; And when the Miniſters of *Boston* agreed with their Congregations upon keeping a *Day of Thanksgiving* to Heaven, for the *Shelter* which their Brethren as well as themſelves found by the *Declaration*, Sr. *Edmond Andros* with many Menaces forb'd their Proceedings, and Particularly threatned that he would ſet Guards of Souldiers on their *Church-Doors*, if they Attempted what they Pretended to.

The *Superiour Gentlemen* in the Oppreſſed Country, thought, that a *Well-qualified Perſon*, going over with the *Addreſſes* of the Churches to the King, might, by the Help of ſuch *Proteſtant Diſſenters* as the King began upon *Political Views* to caſt a fair Aſpect upon, Obtain ſome Relief to the Growing Diſtreſſes of the Country; And Mr. *Mather* was the Perſon that was pitch'd upon. Being in Diſtreſs about this Important Affair, he *did as he uſe to do*. In the *Day of Prayer* which he kept upon it, he put it upon this Iſſue; That he might know the *Direction* of the Glorious GOD, by the *Inclinations* of the Church he belong'd unto, when the matter of his going for *England*, ſhould be Propoſed unto them. The next Day, the matter was propoſed unto the Church; and he ſaid unto them, *If you ſay to me, Stay, I will Stay: But if you ſay to me, Go, I will*

I will cast myself on the Providence of GOD, and in His Name I will go. I know not how to discern the Mind of GOD, but by your Inclinations. To his Wonderment, They that at another time would have almost as soon parted with their Eyes as have parted with him now were willing to it; They Unanimously Consented. They Fear'd what would quickly be done by Bloody and Crafty Men, if he did not in this Honourable way get unto some Distance from them. And they Hop'd that he might be an Instrument of some Deliverance for a Land like to be Desolate and Overthrown by Strangers. What should be made of the Political Views in the Court at this Time, Who can say? Upon the Numbring of the People, it was then Reckoned, there were about One and Thirty Hundred Thousand which at Present Professed Adherence to the Established Church: About Eleven Hundred Thousand, Protestant Non Conformists, of several Denominations; And about Ninety Thousand (if so many) Roman-Catholicks. Though the Non-Conformists might for a while fly to a Tree that gave them some Shelter from their Idumean Unreasonable Persecutors, yet they were Discrete and Honest enough to have kept their Stops; and it could never enter into the Kings Mind, that they would go so far as to Assist the Roman-Catholicks in gaining the Power, with Foreign Aids, to Devour them all. Nor could it enter into Their Mind, that a King, whose Sword was Steel, his GOD was but a Wafer, and who could not keep in any Terms with the Church whereof he was but a Vassal, if he did not as soon as he could, Order all that would not Worship his Idol to be thrown into the Fiery Furnace, could be their Hearty Friend, or could long forbear to Harass them with Perfidious, and Barbarous, and Inhumane Cruelties. Indeed, I know to whom it was, that King James in a Private Conference, Expressed an Horror of the French Kings Horrid Cruelties,

Cruelties, and said, *I Wonder what Almighty GOD will do to him!* Nevertheless, was not King *James* too a *Roman Catholic*? He was a *Son of the Church*, and he *must Obey!* Or, What better was the State of the Protestants in *Ireland*, under Him than that of the Hugonots in *France*, under his Brother?

But yet, Mr. *Mather* might hope at least for some *Temporary Advantages* for his Country, and such as might be worth seeking for, from the *Present Posture* of Affairs.

Let it not be cavilled, That he was now going, *Extra Theologiæ Sphæram*. A *Public Distress*, a *Common Danger*, is enough to Legitimate his *Listing* for the *Service*. Yea, The Life of *Churches* was now at *Stake*. *Churches* were to be Served. — *New-England* knows how to take its *Ministers* upon occasion, & use them as *Instruments* of doing what *none else could have* done, to serve its Interests. Yea, an Eminent Writer Propounds it, That the *Reformed Churches* ought always to have some or other of their *Ministers*, resident in the Courts of *Princes*, that so their Interests may not Suffer, but be Preserved and Promoted there.

A sort of *Panic Terror* fell now upon the Adversary. Something must be done to stop the Intended *Voyage*. *Randolph* must be the Tool. A Copy of his *Forged Letter*,³¹ being sent over hither, Mr. *Mather* in a Letter to the Person that received it, Intimated some Reasons he had for a Suspicion that *Randolph* (with a Brother of his) might be one Author of the *Forgery*. Tho' the Villian knew himself to be so, and his Good *Fame* was not worth *half a Farthing*; yet he
now

³¹ The matter of the forged letter purporting to be written by Mather, and by him attributed to Randolph, is fully discussed in the Mather Papers, Mss. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th Ser. viii. 108-109. As it does not especially concern the main story, there seems to

be no necessity to repeat the details. Briefly, Mather attributed the forgery to Randolph, and was sued by the latter. The papers relating to the suit are printed in the volume last cited, pp. 702-704.

now Arrested Mr. *Mather* in an *Action of Defamation*, and *Five Hundred Pounds* Damage. And it was a thing little short of Miraculous, that considering the Tricks and Frauds, wherewith every thing was then Managed, the Point was not gained. But the *Good Old way* was taken; much *Prayer* was made unto the Glorious Lord from whom every Man has his Judgment: and the Day whereon the Court sat, was a *Day of Prayer* with some Societies of Christians, for a *Good Issue* of the Perplexing matter. Behold, The whole *Jury* cleared Mr. *Mather*, and ordered the Plaintiff to Pay *Costs of Court*.

Mr. *Mather* went on with his Preparations for his Voyage; and had his Mind more and more Irradiated with a Strong Persuasion, That GOD would give him to find Things in England, in such a State, as that he should have an Opportunity to do Special Service for His People here. Yea, he went so far in it, as to Write these Marvellous Words upon it; — *I know, it will be so; For Thou, O Lord GOD, hast told me, that it will be so!* And the Truth is, If he had not had some such Faith as this, to have Inspired him with an uncommon Courage, a Person of his Prudence would never have Exposed himself, as he did on a Thousand Accounts in his present Undertaking.

He waited on Sr. *Edmond Andros*, the Governour and Oppressor of *New-England*; and acquainted him, That he designed a Voyage for *London*. He also gave the Country notice of his Voyage, in a Sermon at the Great Lecture; on Exod. XXXIII. 15. *If thy Presence go not with us, carry us not up from hence.* Hereupon *Randolph* again, Assisted by one 'Potheary Bullivant, a Memorable Justice [and something else!] Privately sent an Officer to Arrest him once more (*such the Equity of those Times!*) upon the former *Action of Defamation*. But it fell out, that he was just then under the Operation of a more wholesome *Physic*, than what
that

that '*Pothecary* had sent him; and so the *Officer* was Ignorantly denied Admittance. The '*Pothecary* as Ignorantly reported, That Mr. *Mather* was Arrested; and the Report flying like Lightening about the Solicitous Town, it soon reached Mr. *Mathers* Ears; who *then* kept upon his Guard.

Of *Randolph*, I said a good while ago, That *I should have a farther Occasion to mention him*. I have now done it; And that I may never mention him any more, I will here take my *Eternal Farewell* of him, with Relating, That he proved a *Blasted Wretch*, followed with a sensible *Curse* of GOD wherever he came; Despised, Abhorred, Unprosperous; Anon he Died in *Virginia*, and in such Miserable Circumstances, that (as it is said) he had only Two or Three *Negro's* to carry him unto his Grave.

Mr. *Mather* withdrew Privately from his *House*, in a Changed Habit, unto the House of Colonel *Philips* in *Charlstown*; In which withdraw, it is Remarkable, That a Wicked Fellow, whose Name was *Thurton*, and who was placed as an under-Sheriff, to Watch him, and Seize him, if he stir'd abroad now saw him and knew him, and yet found himself struck with such an Enfeebling Terror, that he had no power to meddle with him. From thence, he was by certain well-disposed Young Men of his Flock, transported unto *Winnesimmet*; And from thence, he went aboard a Ketch, which lay ready to assist his Voyage: From which he was on *Apr. 7. 1688.* gladly received aboard the Ship (called, *The President*,) on which he had at first Shipped himself, and so bore away for *England*.

After the Ship had made the Land, in a Foggy Day, they narrowly escaped Perishing among the Rocks of *Silly*. And some very Wicked Fishermen of *St. Ives* also after *That* gave them false Advice, on purpose to have Shipwreck'd 'em; which

which they again Escaped by Mr. *Mathers* taking one of the *Sharks* aside, and hiring him with Four Half Crowns to tell the Truth. But on *May 6.* a *Weymouth* Boat coming by the Ship, he (with his Youngest Son whom he carried over with him) went ashore, at *Weymouth*, which was the last Town he had Lodged in, when he left *England*, Seven and Twenty Years before ; And he had the Satisfaction, which he had Exceedingly desired, of seeing his old Friends yet Surviving in *Dorset-shire*, who now received him with the Greatest Joy Imaginable, and even as an *Angel of GOD*.

ARTICLE XXV.

An Admission into the Closet of K. James II.

BUT Mr. *Mather*, willing to lose no Time, hastened up to *London*, where he arrived, *May. 25.* 1688. And he found Things in such a state, as that he had Opportunity to do *Special Service* for his People ; Even beyond what he could have Imagined. An Eminent Person often at Court, Informed King *James*, of his coming with Addresses to His Majesty from *New-England*: And upon *May 30* which was the Time the King had ordered for it, he attended on his Majesty, in the long Gallery at *Whitehall*. Offering to kneel, the King forbid that Posture to him: whereupon Presenting the Addrefs,³² he said,

³² These addresses were probably the following, which we reprint from *Mss. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th Ser. viii. pp. 697-698*: —

ADDRESS OF THE CONGREGATIONS
IN NEW ENGLAND TO KING JAMES
II.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Address of many Congregations in New [England.]

SIR, — That princely Goodness and bounty which did adorn one of your Royall Ancestors, caused his subjects to honour him with the Glorious Title

faid, *Syr, Your Majesties most Loyal Subjects in New-England, with all Possible Veneration, Present this Address of*

of the poor m[an's] King. And it is mentioned as the Chief Glory of a Great King in Ifrael (in t[hat] resembling the King of Kings) that Hee should deliver the needy, spare the poor, and redeem them from violence. This hath your Majesty done by your Late Gracious declaration for Liberty of Conscience, which is Come down on your subjects like rain on the mowen Grass. Therein you assure them that they shall bee maintained in all their properties and possessions ; and Confirm unto them the free exercise of their Religion. Wee know your Majestyes pleasure is, that your Indulgence should extend to these utmost Ends of the Earth, since you have Commanded it to bee proclaimed in this part of Your Dominions. As men, our Civil properties and possessions are dear unto us, butt much more our Religion, as wee are Christians. Your Majesty having declared that no disturbance of any kind shall bee given to us therein, Wee should render ourselves most unworthy, if wee do not accept such Royal Grace so Generously Expressed, with all humble thankfulness to God and the King. And Your Majesty having promised that this Liberty shall Continue during your Reign over us ; as the Scripture has made it our duty, so your Majesty has made it our Interest to pray that your Reign may bee long, and prosperous. Lett the King live forever. Thus do wee, with all possible Testimonies of the Highest Gratitude, Subscribe ourselves

Dread Sovereign,

Your most Loyal and Obedient Subjects.

In the Name of many Congregations in Your Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England.

ADDRESS OF THE CONGREGATIONS
IN N. E. TO JAMES II. 1687.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble address of the Congregations in N. E.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,
— Since the beams of your Royall Clemency have bin so vastly influential, as to communicate their light and warmth to this remote corner of the earth, and your Goodness (no l[ess] sp[iritually] lendid than your Greatness) hath amplified itself so farre as to comprehend your poor and despicable subjects, at so great a distance as N. E. within the compass of your gracious declaration, in which we have assured security of the continuance of our Liberty of Conscience in the worship of God, and peaceable enjoyment of our properties and possessions, than which nothing can be dearer to us in this world, and not only so, but you have also (by giving particular order for the proclaiming of this your Kingly Indulgence among vs) made us sensible, as of the well intentions to grasp us within it, so of a special care you have entertained for vs : It would argue us far more degenerate and brutish than the Barbarous Natives wee converse among, should wee not with greatest thankfulness, expresse our deep repentment of such an immunity, which (next under God) wee are properly beholden to your Majesty for. Deign then, Great Sir, to fill vp your already superlative goodness, to cast a benign ey upon these our best expressions of reall gratitude, who, (having nothing else to signalize it by) resolve, by our earnest wishes and hearty prayers, to do our utmost to obtain that
your

of Thanks to Your Majesty, for Your most Gracious Declaration of Indulgence unto them and their Brethren. The King replied, *Read it, Syr;* which he did, and added the Number of the Ministers who had Subscribed it, in the Name of their severall Congregations. The King then received it out of his Hand, and said, *I am glad my Subjects in New-England are sensible of any Ease and Benefit by my Declaration: And it shall Continue. I hope, by a Parliament to Obtain a Magna Charta for Liberty of Conscience.* He then Presented an Address to the King from *Plymouth*; ³³ to which His Majesty replied, *I kindly accept*

your reign may bee long, peaceable and succesfull, joyning hereto our utmost endeavours so to demean ourselves in all things, as to make it manifestly appeare that wee are, as wee profess ourselves

Sir,

Your Majesty's most Loyall and most obedient subjects.*

[Suppose in October or November, 1687.
—PRINCE.]

³³ The Plymouth Address is probably the one, of which we have the following fragment in Mass. Archives, Political, vol. cvi. p. 371: —

“Renew our humble prayers and supplication to our Lord the King that you may graciously be pleased to give your order for a bill to be prepared for your Royall Signett to passe the great Seale for the granting etc. as hath been formerly petitioned for. As soon as your Majesty more weightly concerns may give admittance thereto, and with as much ease as to your charge thereof as may be, considering our great poverty partly be the barrennes of most of our Lands, late blastings and mildewes

on our principal grains and the great desolations made upon many of our howses by the barbarous Indians; this Colony being the first seat of that cruell warr and as it was our design notwithstanding the propofalls annexed to our former petition and address containing the heads of what wee chiefly desired to be granted, yet humbly submitt ourselves and propofalls to your Majesty's good pleasure. So wee desire still to submitt those propofalls of our desires to your Majesty's Regulation as you shall see fitt for us; hoping to find grace in your sight especially as to our religious libertyes, that under your Royall favour and protection as we have, so wee may, with peaceable and loyall minds have the liberty of our Consciences in the publick worships of God according to Scripture, patern and gospel order; which according to our best light and the generall profession here is the Congregationall way: and therein onely differing from our orthodox brethren of the Church of England, agreeing with them and other the reformed Churches in their profession of the Doctrinall points of Religion: to enjoy which liberty without offense to those worthy persons who were otherwise minded.

* This address is in the handwriting of the Rev. Samuel Willard.

accept of this Address also, and I say again, as I said before; You shall have a Magna Charta for Liberty of Conscience.

Two Days after this, Mr. *Mather* was Admitted into the Kings Clofet; and there said unto him: *Syr, Your Majesties most Loyal Subjects in New-England, think, they can never be Sufficiently Thankful to GOD, and to Your Majesty, for the Benefit they have received by Your most Gracious Declaration of Indulgence.* The King Replied; *I am sure, they that are truly Conscientious, are Pleased with my Declaration; As for those that are not satisfied with it, they are Men that have little Designs of their own; and their Tricks are well known to the World. I was for Liberty of Conscience before I was King: And I Thank GOD, that since I was King I have been able in that matter to give some ease unto my Subjects.*

[LIBERTY OF
CONSCIENCE!
*Can the Ethiopian
Change his Skin, or
the Leopard his
Spots? THEN!—*]

minded. And that under the protection of their Majesties service Mr Josiah Winslow then Governour sent over by the hand of the noble Lord Culpeper in the year 1680 and intrusted with the Honourable Wm. Blathwayt, Esq., whom wee intrusted to give himself the trouble to manage this weighty concern, yet that wee might not be thought to neglect your Majesty wee did the year following imploy one of our Magistrates, Mr James Cudworth to wait upon your Majesty according to such directions and assistance as hee might receive from Mr Blathwayt. — But it pleased God to take him away to death, soon after his arrivall at London, before he could have that happines of that opportunity for us. And tho. wee doubt not of Mr Blathwayt's faithfullnes and care according to the trust we

reposed in him, and the assistance thereof which hee was pleased lovingly to give us in his station and that good character was hence received of him, yet partly by your Majestys more weighty concernes and his own, and partly by mislaying the copy of our former patent sent over by Governor Winslow, so it is that we have received no further answere of our humble petition and desire than that some hopefull progresse hath been made in the business of our patent, and that your Gracious Majesty and your Honourable Council have a good opinion of our Loyalty, for which wee desire to be thankfull to you and your Majestys Council. and trust thro' divine assistance that wee shall never forfeit. And now having sent over another true copy of our former patent and contemplating
not

Subjects. He then said unto the King; *Syr, Your Subjects in New-England are a People that were Persecuted thither on the meer Account of Religion. Inasmuch as Your Majesty has Delivered them from the Fear of a future Persecution, they are Transported with Joy; and there are great Numbers, Desirous that I should report their Dutiful Affection unto your Majesty.* The King thereupon asked him, whether Sr. Edmond Andros gave good Satisfaction to his Subjects there.

The Dialogue went on in these Terms.

Mathew. *Syr, If he would but duely attend to Your Majesties Declaration, the People there would be better Satisfied.*

KING. Does he not do *That?*

Ma. *There have been some of Your Subjects Fined and Imprisoned, because from a Tenderness of Conscience they Scrupled, Swearing by the Book. I brought an Address of Thanks to Your Majesty, from a Number of our Congregations. I believe all the Congregations in the Country would have Concurr'd in the Address, had not the Ministers been Discouraged by Sr. Edmond Andros, who in a menacing way, bid them, have a Care what they did; And One of the Council with him there told us, we should make no Addresses to the King without their Leave. The Ministers of Boston propos'd unto their Congregations, that they might keep a Day of Thanksgiving, to Bless GOD for what they have enjoy'd*

not only the gracious assurance given under your Royall hand of your continuance and enlargement of our liberties both civil and religious, but also

your most gracious and unparalleled condiscention above mentioned wee have found in our hearts to"

[Here the MS. breaks off.]

enjoy'd by Your Majesties Declaration. But he sent for them, and bid them keep the Day at their Peril, and assured them, that if they did, he would clap a Guard on their Persons and their Churches too; so that the intended Thanksgiving was Diverted.

KING. I wonder at it; For in other Plantations, the Governours themselves have sent me Thanks for my Declaration.

Ma. All the Hope under GOD, that your Subjects in New-England have, is in Your Majesty. They cannot but hope, that the Great GOD in whose Hand is the Heart of Kings, will incline Your Royal Heart to relieve them, when once you shall truly and fully be Informed how it is with them.

KING. [*who seem'd Pleas'd,*] No Man shall be more ready to relieve them than I will be. Do you therefore bring to me in Writing, the things which Trouble you.

Upon this, Mr. *Mather* kneeled, and the King Offering his hand unto him, he Kissed it; and for this Time took his Leave.

Mr. *Mather* Immediately got ready, not only a Memorial of the Grievances which filled his Country with the Cry of the Oppressed, but also a *Petition*³⁴ for a Redress of them, in several

³⁴ As to this Memorial and Petition we find two sets of papers answering to the description in Mafs. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th Ser. vol. viii. pp. 699-702, and pp. 113-115. They are as follows:—

MEMORIAL OF THE DISSENTERS OF
NEW ENGLAND.

[Suppose June 1. 1683.—PRINCE.]

An Humble Memoriall of the present

Condition of the Dissenters of New-England.

That your Majestys Subjects there dissenting from the Church of England are by much the greatest and wealthiest Part, and were the First of any of your Majesty's Plantations, that Proclaimed your Majesty their True and Lawfull Sovereign. That notwithstanding they happily flourished under their former Government,

several *Proposed Instances*. Indeed, he could not now propose the Restoration of the Condemned & Vacated *Charter*;
But

Government, yet upon your Majesty's Commands, they cherefully Submitted to the present Form of a Generall Governor.

Yet such has bin and still is the Artifice of some who belong to the Church of Englands Party to traduce the most peaceable and Consciencious Men as Seditious and disaffected to Royall Government.

And such is the present Case of your Majesty's Dissenting Subjects in this your Plantation.

For that they are not suffered to sett apart Days of Prayer and Thanksgiving: no, not even for the Blessing of your Gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, Nor were the People there encouraged to make humble Adresses of Thanks, but the Contrary.

That the Service of the Church of England has bin forced into their Meeting Houses.

That there have bin threatnings to punish any Man that should give to the value of Two pence to maintaine a Non-conformist Minister.

That they have bin fined and Imprisoned because they were Scrupelous of Swearing, otherwise then according to the Ancient Custome of this your Majesty's Plantation, by Lifting up their Hands to heaven and not by the Booke.

That the Dissenters Lands there are Measur'd out, and given to such as are for the Church of England, and others denied Liberty to improve their Property.

That whole Towns, to the Ruine of many hundreds of Familyes, are now vnder expectation of having their Lands seized, vnlesse they give money to Repurchase them.

That they are under great Fears and Discouragements, being told by fom in Government that they are no better then Slaves, that they have no Title to Property or English Priviledges, and they are treated accordingly.

Some being Imprisoned without Assigning any Cause, and others forc'd to pay such Fines as inferior Officers please to extort from them.

[A paragraph erased.]

That it is commonly discoursed that the College built by Non-Conformists in New England shall be taken from them, and put into the hands of such as are of the Church of England.*

PETITION OF INCREASE MATHER AND
OTHERS TO KING JAMES II.

To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of Increase Mather, Samuel Nowell, and Elisha Hutchinson, on behalfe of themselves and many of your Majestys Loiall Subjects in New England,

Humbly Sheweth

That since the dissolution of the late Government there, many inconveniences have and will attend your Petitioners, vnlesse relieved therein by your Majesty, in order whereunto they humbly propose to your Majestys Consideration the heads in the Paper annexed, which if your Majesty shall vouchsafe to Grant and confirme to them, will (as your Petitioners humbly conceive) be for your Majestys Interest, and an effectuall

* The last paragraph is in the handwriting of Increase Mather.

But he did Propose (what the King himself had Instructed him to call, a MAGNA CHARTA, for an Everlasting *Liberty*

tual means for the settlement of that your Colony.

And therefore they humbly pray and hope that your Majesty will, out of your great Grace, give such speedy Orders therein as will be for your Petitioners relieve.

And your petitioners, *etc.*

[April 6, 1688. Mr. Increase Mather goes for England.

May 30. Has his 1st audience of King James II, in private; and June 1. his 2d audience. And I suppose on July 2, 1688, presents this Petition to King James 2d, as it seems by Dr. C. Mather's Life of his Father. — PRINCE.]

[The following paper is placed in the collection of manuscripts immediately after this petition, and is probably "the Paper annexed," referred to therein.]

That his Majesties subjects in New England may be quieted in the possession of all property, both in houses and lands, as they enjoyed them before the government was changed, on the 24th May, 1686, and that the antient records there settled for title of lands may be confirmed.

That there be liberty of conscience in matters of Religion, and that their former methods of swearing in giving of Evidence may be allowed; and all their meeting houses left free to them, according to the Intentions of the builders thereof.

That no laws may be made nor money raised there, without the Consent of a general Assembly, as it is in the other plantations.

That all Townships may have liberty

to assemble and manage the business of their several precincts, as under the former Government, and have power to receive and dispose of all Voluntary contributions.

That the Colledge at Cambridge in New England, with the Revenues thereunto belonging, be confirmed in the hands of a President and fellows as formerly.

Wee humbly Petition, that these things may be confirmed under the great seal.

PETITION IN BEHALF OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

[This paper is in the handwriting of Increase Mather.]

Suppose for June 1. 1688. — PRINCE.

Some who are dissenters from the Church of England did erect a Colledge at Cambridge in New England for the benefit of themselves and posterity.

Several donations were bestowed on this Colledge by sundry persons; also a revenue settled by the former Government for the encouragement of a President and Fellows to govern that Society.

It has bin governed by a President, five Fellows, and a Treasurer, who had power to make laws for the government of their own Society, and to dispose of all moneys given, or that should be given, as should be most advantageous to the use of the Colledge; also in case of death or removal to chuse another President, Fellow, or Treasurer.

At the time when the Civil Government was changed, the Colledge was (nor

erty of Conscience to the Churches, to the Religion whereof no lefs than an utter *Extinction* was intended and eagerly purfued

(nor is it that wee know of, as yet put into other hands) under the Infpection of Increase Mather as President, John Sherman, Nehemiah Hubbard,* John Cotton, John Leverett, William Brattle, as Fellows, and John Richards as Treafurer.

Wee now petition that the faid Colledge may be confirmed in the hands it has bin in, and that they may have the fame power which formerly they had, as is above expreffed.

MEMORIAL OF GRIEVANCES PRESENTED BY INCREASE MATHER TO JAMES II.

Mr Increase Mather's 2d audience of King James II was private on June 2, 1688.† Who failed à Boston the Beg. of April, 1688. — PRINCE.

For June 1, 1688.

I. As to matters of Religion, they are inhibited the free exercife thereof, for they are not allowed to fet dayes for prayer or Thankfgiving when the minifters in B. had agreed with their

* The perfon intended was undoubtedly William Hubbard.

† Cotton Mather, who derived his information from a diary kept by his father, fays, in the "Parentator," that the firft audience took place May 30, in the long gallery at Whitehall; on which occafion he prefented addreffes of thanks from the minifters and churches of Maffachufetts and Plymouth, for the King's Declaration of Indulgence. The fecond audience was in the King's Clofet, "two days after," i. e., June 1. At that time no petition was prefented, but only a converfation held, in which the King bade him to prepare a written ftatement of what he wifhed to be done for the Colony. He immediately drew up a Memorial of grievances, and alfo a Petition for their redrefs, and waited on his Majesty, July 2, and prefented them. We infer, from the language of the "Parentator," that a petition in behalf of the College — perhaps in fubftance that which is printed above — was prefented at the fame time.

congregations folemnly to praife God becaufe of the King's Declaration of Indulgences. Sir Edmund Andros entertained them with threatening words, faying it was faction in them, and bad them meet at their perill, and told them that hee fhould then fend fouldiers to guard them and their meeting-houfes too. And the worfhip of the Church of England has been forced into feveral of their meeting-houfes. Some have been fined and imprifoned, becaufe they were afraid to act againft the fcruples of their confciences in fwearing by the Booke, yet willing to fwear (when called thereto) according to the cuftom of the country, by lifting up their hands. 2. The property of His Majesty's loyal fubjects there has been invaded by their prefent Rulers. The Governor has taken away the Lands belonging to fome particular perfons, and given them to his owne creatures. As alfo the Lands belonging to fundry Towns. And there are divers whole Towns threatned to have their common Lands difpofed of to fuch of the loweft there as have petitioned for them, which will prove the ruin of hundreds of families who have for fcores of years had a peaceable poffeffion of their rights. The prefent Rulers there, fome of them, declare, that the King's fubjects in N. E. have no property belonging to them, but that all is gone with their charter, and they promife Patents to fuch as will give a fumm of money to purchafe their owne lands. They difcourage His Majesties fubjects by afferting that they are no better than flaves, and that the priviledges of Englifh men do not belong to them. And in many particulars they act contrary to

purfued by the *Sons of Strangers* who now Lorded it over them. He did therewithal Propofe, a Confirmation of the Peoples *Title* to their Lands, which had been brought under fuch an Abominable Conteftation. He did alfo Propofe, a Liberty for an *Assembly*. But he had nothing more at Heart than the Intereft of the *College*; whereof he was now the *Rector*: (and his appearing in that *Quality* was no little Advantage to him in his Prefent *Agency*;) but the Ruin whereof was evidently in the View of the Perfecutors. Having prepared the way for it, by Private Applications, to the Lords of the Kings Privy Council, and the Chief Minifters, he again Waited on His Majefty, (*July 2.*) and was Admitted into his Clofet; where he Prefented kneeling his *Memorial* and *Petition*. The King put forth his Hand to take him up, and faid, *You fhall not kneel, Syr*: and therewithal received the Papers out of his Hand; faying, *I fuppose thefe Papers concern New-England, and are about the fame things, which you had fome Difcourfe with me, not long fince upon*: And then putting them into his Pocket he faid, He would take care about it. Mr. *Mather* was accompanied with Two Gentlemen whom the King treated, (not to fay, *Cheated*) as his Favourites: Both of whom Declared unto his Majefty, That if he fhewed Favour to *New-England* it would have a Good Influence on the whole *Body of Diffenters in England*; Whereunto the King Replied,

to the Laws of England. They might fell where they will without affigning any caufe. Inferior officers extort what Fees they pleafe.

3. Difregard has bin fhewed to his excellent Majefties declaration. When a Bookefeller defired that hee might have license to print it in N. E., that could not be granted. And when the minifters in Bofton informed the Governor that they were ingaging their Congregations to make an humble Ad-

drefs of thanks to the King, hee bad them have a care what they did, and was greatly difpleafed.

If His Majefty fhall fee caufe to empower any as Commiffioners, requiring them to adminifter oaths to fundry in N. E., as they fhall receive direction; the truth of thefe complaints will be made to appear. New England is now *

* The manufcript abruptly terminates here.

Replied, *I believe so, and it shall be done!* And Mr. Mather then added, That his poor Subjects in *New-England*, very much Desired, he should be Acquainted with their Condition: *But* he said, *The Obligation will be beyond Expression great, if Your Majesty, will Please to grant them a Charter for their College.* Certainly, *Syr*, they may think it hard that the College built by Non-Conformists, should be taken from them, & put into the Hands of Conformists. The King Replied, *It is Unreasonable, & it shall not be!*

[What? King
JAMES himself
declare so!]

On Sept. 26. Mr. Mather again waited on the King in his Clofet; and there said unto him; *Syr, I count it my Duty, most Humbly to Thank your Majesty, in that you were Pleased some time since to give Assurance, that you would Confirm to your Subjects in New-England, their Liberties and Properties, and the Benefit of your Gracious Declaration.* The King Replied, *I will take the same Care of New-England, as of England; And you may be sure, they shall have what I have Promised.* Mr. Mather went on, *I Humbly Pray, Syr, that the matter may be Expedited. Your Majesties Affairs here may feel some Advantage from it.* The Kings Answer was; *Trouble yourself no farther; I will take Care, that the thing shall be done with Expedition.*

But, — *Quid Verba audiam quum facta non Videam?*
— There was nothing Effectually Performed of all that had been Promised.

Mr. Mather made as many Friends as he could: And it was Remarkable to him, That not only the Lord-Proprietor of *Pensylvania*, (then a Great Man at Court) treated him with much Civility, but even the *Goggle-Ey'd Monster*³⁵ too who

³⁵ By the Goggle-Eyed Monster of Macaulay will remember not only that course Jeffrys is meant. Readers of the glare and frown of the cruel judge were

who used no other Man so, treated him with some Humanity, and the *Roman-Catholicks* themselves used him very Courteously. It often made him think on that Word, *They shall take up Serpents, and it shall not hurt them*: The *Serpents* were so far from *Hurting* him, that they Extremely Carefessed and Flattered him. He had something better than a *Staff of Laurel* for his Preservative! When he was in the midst of these Dangerous People. Among these, *Nevil Pain* told him, That Father *Peters* would gladly Speak with him, and was willing, [*Pray, Master Apella, can even you Believe a Word of this?*] to do Good Offices for *New-England*. But Mr. *Mather* did not see cause to trust him; nor did he ever Exchange Ten Words with him; though Reports were spread by some Spiteful Persons of his maintaining an Intimacy with him; and he was once in Eminent hazard of losing his Life, by a *Mob*, which from some Resemblance of Stature and Habit mistook him for the most contrary Thing in the world. Some that were Friends to *New-England* strongly advised him to seek an Acquaintance with that Gentleman, and use his Interest with the King; but he always declined it and said, *It was next to going to the Devil for Help, and he could never find in his Heart to do it*. Some others, he did more freely Apply to; and especially, the Lord-Præsident, and the Earl of *Melfort*; who both still *Promised Fair*. He also hoped, That the Distress and the Terror of the Impending *Revolution*, would compel the *Doing of something*: And for this purpose, he attended on the King, once again in his Closet, on *Oct. 16.* who then³⁶ Positively told him, That *Liberties* and *Properties*, and the *College*, and all that he had *Promised*, should be Immediately Confirmed: And

were most noticeable, but that some notable peculiarity of his eyes led to his discovery whilst endeavoring to escape in disguise.

³⁶ We insert the following petition from *Mss. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th Ser. viii. p. 116*, at this place, since Prince ascribes it to July, 1688, and especially because Palfrey

And it seem'd indeed on the point of being Executed. But upon the false Rumour of a Diversion given to the Prince of *Orange's* Expedition, there was a Demur put upon it; Whereupon Mr. *Mather* said, in his own Mind *I will see thy Face again no more*. He thought he had heard *Good Words* enough; and saw, They were *All* he was like to be put off withal. And indeed, what were the *Dark Purposes* of the Court about poor *New-England* at that Critical time of *Isaac on the Altar*; whether not something little short of a *Total Extirpation* for Colonies that were so Distinguished for the *Reformed Religion* in the greatest Purity of it! — Unriddle me, those Two Things. The one; That in the *Account of the State of the Protestants in Ireland*, which

Palfrey places it also to this period in his third volume, p. 565. Hutchinson (Hist. i. 369) gives it the same date.

PETITION OF INCREASE MATHER AND OTHERS TO THE COMMITTEE FOR TRADE AND FOREIGN PLANTATIONS.*

To the Right Honourable the Lords' Committee for Trade and Forreign Plantations.

The humble Petition of Increase Mather, Sa: Nowell and Elifha Hutchinson — Sheweth

That since your Lordships seem to be of the opinion that His Majesty will not at present grant an Assembly to be held within his Dominion of New England, for the making of Laws or raising of money, The Petitioners humbly conceive, That it will be as much for His Majestys service as the peaceable government of his subjects there;

that untill His Majesty shall be graciously pleased to grant an Assembly, the Council should consist of such persons as shall be considerable Proprietors of Lands within His Majesty's dominions; and that the Countys being continued as at present, each County may have one, at least, of such of the Inhabitants of the same to be a member thereof. And that no Acts may pass for Law but such as have or shall be voted by the manifest consent of the major part of the Council. And that all Laws so made may by printing be published for the Generall Instruction of all the Inhabitants.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray that your Lordships would be pleased favourably to report the same to His Majesty for his gracious direction and order therein.

And your Petitioners shall pray, etc.

[Suppose in 1688, sometime in July. — PRINCE.†]

* This Petition with slight verbal variations, is printed in Hutchinson's "History," vol. i. p. 369; and also in Dr. Palfrey's "History," vol. iii. p. 566, where the reference is to Hutch. Hist. i. 229-230.

† Dr. Palfrey, who probably obtained his information from the Colonial Papers, in the British State Paper Office, dates this petition as in October. (Note in Mss. Hist. Soc. Coll.)

which no *Protestants* make any Question of, One Article of the *Suggestions* made by the *Irish Catholics* to King *James*, was, *That if any of the Irish cannot have their Lands in Specie, but Money in Lieu, some of them may transport themselves into America, particularly near New-England, to check the growing Independents of that Country.* The other ; That in a letter sent from King *James* to his *Holy Father* at *Rome*, the Published Copy of which every Body looks upon as Genuine, that Intoxicated Prince, declares his *full purpose to set up the Roman-Catholic Religion in the English Plantations of America.* However, *Blessed be the Lord, who has not given us as a Prey to their Teeth ; Our Soul is Escaped as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowlers ; the Snare is broken, we are Escaped.*

ARTICLE XXVI.

The History of the NEW CHARTER.



LET my Reader, I beseech him, now be armed with abundance of Patience. I am entering into a Story, which I wish I could manage with the Dispatch of the *He-Goat* in the Visions of *Daniel*. But it is a Story that should and must be told : and I foresee, it will prove a *long Chapter*, let me do what I can. Of the Poets, whereof tis Remark'd, the one knew *what to say*, the other knew *what Not to say*, I am Confident, even the latter, (and he who has made his *Eneids*, as we now have them, twenty times as short as they were in the first Composing of them) could not give it much more Concisely than what shall be now endeavoured.

But, *Reader*, if thou art not in a *Time* or a *Frame*, for
the

the Reading of *Civil* matters, Turn over a few Leaves, and *Skip the Chapter.*

Perhaps, the *Partitioning* of the Story into *Sections* may give the Reader some necessary *Breathing-Spaces.*

§ 1. *England* made and saw an Happy REVOLUTION. And *New-England* upon, (and *almost before*) the Advice of it, made as *Just* and *Fair* an One,³⁷ in Conformity to it; and not

³⁷ PALFREY writes (iii. 579): "It would be very interesting to know when and how the rising in Boston was projected." He cites HUTCHINSON (Hist. i. 381), who says, "It fully appears . . . that none of the magistrates were privy to the rising of the people;" and who also thinks that the Declaration was written, *after the event*, by Cotton Mather. Both historians ignore the very clear statement made by Samuel Mather in the Life of his father Cotton Mather, p. 42. It is as follows:—

"It was in the Month of April [1689] when we had News by the Edges concerning a Descent made upon *England* by the Prince of *Orange* for the Rescue of the Nation from Slavery and Popery; Then a Strange Disposition entred in the Body of our People to assert our *Liberties* against the Arbitrary Rulers that were fleecing them. But it was much feared by the more sensible Gentlemen at *Boston*, that an unruly Company of Soldiers who had newly deserted the Service in which they had bin employed for the Eastern War, by the gathering of their Friends to them to protect them from the Governor, who, they tho't, intended nothing but Ruine to them; would make a great Stir and produce a *bloody Revolution.*

"And therefore the principal Gentlemen in *Boston* met with Mr MATHER

to consult what was best to be done; and they all agreed, if possible, that they would extinguish all Effays in our People to an Insurrection; but that if the Country People to the Northward by any violent Motions push'd on the Matter so far as to make a *Revolution* unavoidable, *Then* to prevent the Shedding of *Blood* by an ungoverned Multitude, some of the Gentlemen present would appear in the Head of what Action should be done; and a *Declaration* was prepared accordingly.

"On April 18, the People were so driving and furious, that unheaded they began to seize our public Oppressors, upon which the Gentlemen aforesaid found it necessary to appear, that by their Authority among the People the unhappy Tumults might be a little regulated." Further on he writes: "Twas then Mr Mather appeared," and "he set himself both *publickly* and *privately* to hinder the Peoples proceeding any further than to reserve the Criminals for the Justice of the *English* Parliament." . . . "On that very Day that he was to be committed to *half a Years Imprisonment* those that would have *wrong'd* him were *justly* taken into Custody."

Surely this is very strong evidence to the point, that the gentlemen had consulted in advance; and we can hardly doubt that the multitude were aware,

not *Resisting an Ordinance of GOD*, but *Restraining a Curfed Violation of His Ordinance*, Imprifoned Sr. *Edmond Andros*, and his Accomplices.

In the mean time, the Prince of *Orange* Arriving to *London*, and he with the Princefs, being foon after, *Chofen and Crowned*, KING and QUEEN, of the Britifh Empire, Mr. *Mather* had a New Field, and a Large one, for fpecial *Service* offered him.

The Prince of *Orange*, having declared, the *Reftoration of Charters* to be one Intention of his Expedition into *England*, Mr. *Mather* immediately ufed his moft Vigorous Endeavours, That the *Charters* of *New-England* might be Reftored as well as thofe of *England*. The good Old Lord *Wharton*, whole Memory ought forever to be Precious unto *New-England*, went with Mr. *Mather*, to Wait on the Prince of *Orange*, at *St. James's*; and on *Jan. 9.*³⁸ then Prefented the

aware, by indirect means, that leaders would be forthcoming whenever action was taken.

³⁸ Jan. 9, 1689-90. The Petition prefented by Mather is undoubtedly the following one, which is preferved in Mafs. Archives, *Ufurpation*, vol. cxxix. p. 345. It is addreffed to the Prince of Orange, who was crowned King on the 13th February:—

[Mafs. Archives, *Ufurpation*, vol. cxxix. p. 345.]

To His Highnefs the Prince of Orange.

The Humble Petition of Increase Mather, Rector of the Colledge at Cambridge in New England in the behalf of himfelf and the Proteftant Inhabitants in that Territorie

Humbly fheweth

That in the reigne of King James the firft, their Anceftors of Blessed memory for the fake of God and their

confcience left their native Country, and found a wildernefs now called New England, and Planted and built there, and had many grants in fee for the inheritance of what they foe dearly purchafed. But fince the year 1683 their Charters have been ravifhed from them by Judgement in the high Court of Chancery in England without allowing them time to make the leaft defence, and a Governour is impofed upon them (vizt.) Sir Edmund Androfs, who hath accepted of an illegall and Arbitrary Commiffion Impowering him to make Laws and to raife money without any confent of the People, in foe much that their ancient eftablifhed Government is totally fubverted; And they are expofed to the Cruelty and rapine of the Indians, animated by the French, and their Religion perfons and properties to the utmoft hazard of an abfolute diftruction except fpeedily relieved by your highnefs.

Wherefore

the Petition for it unto His Highness. That noble Person, with a great Zeal told his Highness, *That if he were sure to Dy the next Day, he would as he now did this Day, appear on*

Wherefore your petitioner humbly implores your highness that you wilbe gratioously pleased to declare under your hand and signe manuell, that it is your pleasure that New England should be Restored to its ancient Rights and priviledges and that their old Charters should take place as formerly.

And your petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray

We also add the following Letter to Ashurst, and the report in Council, from the Mafs. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th Ser. viii. p. 117-118:—

INCREASE MATHER TO SIR HENRY ASHHURST.

These for the Worshipfull Sir Henry Ashurst, Baronett.

SIR,—I have a Great Request to make to you. And I am perswaded you will not deny me.

The last night I was at Whitehall; and my Lord Shrewsburyes (the Secretary of State) Clerk informed me that this day about 5 a clock in the afternoon, our New England affair will be before the Committee of forreign Plantations. Hee advised me not only to attend there myselfe; but, to ingage some other Gentlemen to be with me; and of his owne accord mentioned your selfe.

I therefore humbly pray that you will favor (not me but) New England so farr as to condescend to this proposall and desire of, Sir, Your Servant,

INCREASE MATHER.

February. 18. 1688[-9.]

REPORT AND ORDER IN COUNCIL,
FROM A PAPER IN THE HAND-
WRITING OF INCREASE MATHER.

A report from the Honorable the Lords of the [Com]mittee for Trade and Forreign plantations.

Wee have in obedience to your Majestyes Command of 13th instant considered the Pet[ition] of Sir W. A[shhurst] and Mr I[ncrease] M[ather] praying that the Colonies of Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, in New England, may have their respective Charters restored to them, and choose Magistrates permitted to take upon them the Government of said Colonies, wee have also heard what the petitioners could allege by their Council learned in the Law, and bin informed by Sir R. S. of the proceedings relating to those charters.

Whereupon wee most humbly offer that as well in reference to your Revenue which is very much concerned therein, as in consideration of the neighbourhood of the French, who have lately invaded your Majestyes dominions in those parts, your Majesty would be pleased to send forthwith another Governor to New England in the place of Sir Edmond Andros, with a provisional commision and impowered to proclaime your Majesty in those Colonies, and to take the present care of the Administration of Government of those parts till further ordered. In which Commission and instructions it may be expressed that no money shall be raised by the Governor and Council onely, which they were lately empowered

on behalf of New-England, and Sollicit His Favour to that Religious Country. He said, *That they were a Godly Conscientious People, and there were Proportionably more Good Men in New-England, than in any part of the World.* He said, *They did not Petition for Money, nor for Souldiers, nor any other Succours under their heavy Difficulties; but for their Ancient Privileges.* His Highness replied, *That His Purpose was, to take the Best care he could about it; and He would give order to His Secretary Mr. Jephson! concerning it.* My Lord then carrying Mr. Mather to Mr. Jephson, said, *Cousin, (for such he was) Observe this Gentleman; and whenever he comes to you, Receive him as if I came myself.*

And Mr. Mather soon had something to do with Mr. Jephson! For by the Procurement of some old Courtiers and Jacobites, a *Circular Letter* was drawn up unto all the Plantations, and unto *New-England* among the rest, *Confirming all their Old Governours until further Order.* Mr. Mathers

ered to do. And wee likewise most humbly advise that your Majesty do thereupon give order for preparing, as soon as may be, such further establishment as may be lasting, and preserve the Rights and priviledges of the people in New England, and yet reserve such a dependence on the crown of England as shall be thought requisite.

Council Chamber, 22 Febr.

His Majesty taking the same into consideration, was pleased to command that it be referred back to the Committee to consider of and prepare a draft of a new charter to be granted to the Inhabitants of New England, with such parts and clauses as may suit with and be agreeable to the Laws and Government of this Kingdom, and may preserve the Rights and properties of the Colony and reserve such a dependence on this Cro[wn] as is advise[d]

and that instead of [a] Governor to be sent in the room of Sir Edmond Andros, there be appointed 2 Commissioners [to take] upon them the Administration of Government there, with directions immediately to proclaime King W[illiam] and Queen M[ary]. And his Majesty is graciously pleased further to order that such of the Merchants and planters as are at present here in England do forthwith attend the said Committee in order to their recommending to their Lordships of said Commissioners for his Majesty.

At a Court at Whitehall, Feb. 26, 1688[-9], by the Kings most excellent Majesty and the Lords of his most honourable privy council.*

* This order of the King in Council is printed in a slightly different form in Palfrey's "History," vol. iii. pp. 592, 593, note, who also gives the objections urged by Sir Robert Sawyer on the 22d February to the Lords of the Committee, as referred to in the first section of this report.

Mathers Vigilance, got the Knowledge of this Letter, from the Secretary : But what a concern did it give him ! Had this Letter come to *New-England*, and the *Pounded Rulers* taken the Advantage of it, as they would have done, to have resumed the Government, *Boston* would have been a *Shambles*. Mr. *Mather* Effectually Remonstrated it unto the Secretary, who carried his Remonstrance unto the Prince ; and he then gave Order that the Letter to *New-England* should be stop'd ; but the rest proceed. This one *Special Service* was well worth his Voyage to *England* for it !³⁹

§. 2.

³⁹ I think the following document from Mafs. Archives, Usurpation, vol. cxxix. p. 317, is the identical one which did such service. It must date after February 13, when William and Mary were crowned. The paper is in a clerk's hand, but has been altered by the substitution of the words printed in Italics. This is a sign possibly of some great urgency which would not allow of a fresh copy being made, or else shows that the corrections were made after the coronation, if we presume a fair copy was made. Palfrey (iii. 591) says that the letter continuing Andros was dated January 12; and yet, as vessels for New England failed infrequently, it might well happen that a month had elapsed without an opportunity to send it. At all events, we know by the documents which follow it that the paper belongs just at this juncture. A copy in Mather's handwriting, and *without the additions above noted*, is in Mafs. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th Ser. viii. p. 705.

[Mafs. Archives, Usurpation, vol. cxxix. p. 317.]
To the [Kings] *King William and Queen Mary*, Most Excellent Majestys.

The humble Petition of Sir William Phips, Knt. and Increase Mather, Rector of the Colledge att Cambridge in New England

Humbly sheweth :

That Four Colonies in New England have had their Charters, which did empower them to choose their own Rulers, by extraordinary wayes taken from them, And Sir Edmund Andros has been sent to Govern them by an illegall Commiffion. And of late we hear that the Indians animated by the French are making Warr upon them And if that Territory should be lost, it would prove very prejudiciall to the English Nation and to the Protestant Interest in Generall.

Wherefore as an effectual Remedy against these Evills, Wee humbly pray that Sir Edmond Andros may be removed from his Government in New England, and that your Majesty will please by a letter under your Majesties hand and sign manual, to Declare that all their Charters being restored to them they proceede in Administrations of Government as before any Quo Warrantos were issued against them, *there being now a ship ready to sayle for Boston*. Also that Order may be given to the former governments in the severall Colonies in New England to proclaim your Majestys King and Queen in that part of your Dominions

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

§. 2. It is Commemorated among the Memorable Things in the *Prudentia Veteris Ecclesiæ*; That the People at *Antioch* having by some rash doings, exceedingly Incensed the Emperour *Theodosius*, and Fearing his Vengeance upon them, Composed very Mournful Hymns, which they sang in their Publick Devotions. Upon which they also sent their Pastor, even the most Eminent Minister in the City, as an *Agent* for them, to the Imperial Court; who Prevailed with the Young Men that were Singers at the Emperours Table, to Sing those Mournful Songs: At the hearing whereof, the Emperour, when he understood the Original & Intention of them, was Dissolved into Relenting Tears, and shewed Mercy to the City.

New-England had not so far Incurred the Royal Displeasure; though some Displeasing Things had been Unwisely done in the Country. Mr *Mather* being in an Agency for them, like his Predecessor *Flavian*, thought it no Imprudence to let the King hear something of what passed in the public Devotions of the People for which he was concerned.

On *March* 14. 1689. The Lord *Wharton* introduced him to King WILLIAM; and Mr. *Mather* knowing that the King desired none but very *short Speeches*, only said, *I Congratulate your Majesties happy Accession to the Crown, and I Humbly Implore Your Favour to New-England.*

KING. You may rest Assured that I will shew them all the Favour, which it is in my Power to do.

Ma. *I may Humbly and Freely Speak it; The very Prayers of that People, will be of some Service to Your Majesty. They are a Good and a Praying People.*

KING.

KING. I Believe they are a Good People ; But I doubt, there have been *Irregularities* in their Government.

Ma. *I durst Engage, that they shall at the first Word Reform any Irregularities they shall be Advised of.*

Ld. Wharton. — *And I'l be their Guarantee, and here is Mr. Mather the Rector of the College there, shall be the other. We Two will stand bound for New-England, that they shall act Regularly for the Future.*

KING. I will forthwith give Order, that Sr. *Edmond Andros* shall be removed from the Government of *New-England*, and be called unto an Account for his Male-Administration. And I will direct, that the Present *King* and *Queen* shall be Proclaimed by their former Magistrates.

*Ma. Syr, They will do it with the Joyfullest Hearts in the World.*⁴⁰

§. 3.

⁴⁰ To this period belong the following documents : First, an Order in Council, printed in Mafs. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th Ser. vol. ii. p. 298, dated 18th April, 1689, and reading as follows : —

“The Earle of Shrewsbury is directed upon inquiry from those who have the most considerable interest in New England, New York, and the Jerseys, to present to the King the names of such as may be thought fitt at this time to be Governor and Lieut. Governor of those Parts.”

Second, the following petition printed in the Hutchinson Papers in the same Collections, 3d Ser. vol. i.

p. 120–122, and there wrongly assigned to a later date : —

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble petition of several persons having considerable interest in New England and the Jerseys

Most Humbly Sheweth

That your majesty having directed the right honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury, upon inquiry, with those persons who have the most considerable interests in New England, New York and the Jerseys, to present to your majesty the names of such persons as may be thought fit at this time to be governor and

§. 3. This true *New-England-Man* considering how Wonderfully *New-England* had Prospered under the *Old Charter*, and how Desirous the People for whom he was now concerned, were to have it Restored; he Advised with the Wifest Friends he could find, about this Momentous Affair. Their Concurrent Judgment was, That the best course would be to Endeavour for a *Reversion of the Judgment* against the *Massachusetts-Charter* by an *Act of Parliament*; and afterwards Petition to the King for the *Additional Privileges*, without

and lieutenant governour of those parts; whereof we receiving notice crave leave most humbly to represent to your majesty, that the inhabitants and proprietors of the colonies of New England and the Jerseys have always had, by virtue of their charters and grants, a power to choose their respective governours; and the honourable House of Commons having voted the prosecution against, and taking away such charters and franchises, to be illegal, and a grievance, and that they be restored and confirmed—it is humbly conceived, that the appointing of a governour by your majesty over the colonies of New England and the Jerseys, is inconsistent with the said charters and grants, (against one of which only judgment hath past,) and with the votes aforesaid, and will be a great disappointment to the hopes of your subjects there and here, grounded upon your majesty's most gracious declarations.

Your petitioners therefore most humbly pray, that your majesty would be graciously pleased, that the respective charters, grants, rights and liberties of the said colonies of New England and the Jerseys may be restored and confirmed accordingly.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

Reasons against sending a Governour to New England.

1. The people there have by their charters power to choose their own governours, and all other officers; and all their charters are in force still, excepting one, there having been no judgments passed against them, nor any surrenders; and as for that one, against which judgment has been entered, it proceeded by a *scire facias*, &c. illegally managed.

2. They that are concerned for New England do confidently affirm, that there is not one in a hundred, nay, not one in a thousand, of the inhabitants there, who does not desire that their government by charter might be continued to them. If the king shall please to gratify their desires therein, they will cheerfully expose themselves, and all that is dear to them in this world, to serve his majesty. But if their former rights and privileges be withheld from them, it will cause an universal dissatisfaction and discouragement amongst the inhabitants. Nor can any thing be thought of that will more endanger their being ruined by the French or other enemies near them, except taking from them their charter rights, as is manifest in that when they enjoyed their charter, they easily subdued their enemies, but since that it has been otherwise.

without which the *Old Charter* would not answer the Occasions, and Necessities of the People. Mr. *Mather* hereupon made most Indefatigable Applications unto the Principal Men in that *Convention Parliament*; The Effect of which was, That in the *House of Commons* the *Charters* of *New-England* were expressly put into the *Charter-Bill*: It was Voted,⁴¹ That the taking of them away, was a *Grievance*, and that they should be *Restored*. And a great Interest was also made in the *House of Lords*, that when the Bill should come up to them, for their Concurrence, *New-England* might be there also Favoured. At the same time, [July 4. 1689.] Mr. *Mather* was again Introduced by the Lord *Wharton* unto the King at *Hampton Court*: and said,

Ma. I Presume Your Majesty has been Informed, of the Great Service, which Your Subjects in New-England, have done for Your Majesty, and for this Nation, and for the Protestant Interest, in Securing that Territory for King WILLIAM.

KING. I have seen some Letters that Speak of it, and I Kindly accept of what they have done.

Ma. If Your Majesty would Please to Command that Your kind Acceptance of what they have done shall be Signified unto them, it will be a great Encouragement.

KING. I will give order to the Secretary of State, that a Letter be Written to them, to let them understand, that what they have done is Acceptable to me.

Ma.

⁴¹ A report of the Committee on Grievances, dated 5th March, 1688-89, is quoted by HUTCHINSON. (Hist. i. 389-390, note). It mentions as grievances "the prosecution of *quo warrantos* against the cities, two universities, the towns corporate, boroughs, and cinque ports, and the plantations."

Ma. Your Majesty may, by the Assistance of New-England, whenever You Please, become the Emperour of America. I durst engage, that Your Subjects there, will readily Venture their Lives and Estates in Your Service. All that is Humbly Desired on their behalf, is only that they may Enjoy their Ancient Rights and Priviledges.

KING. I do assure you, I will do all that it is in my Power to do, that it may be so.

Mr. *Mead* being with him, told the King, that he could not possibly do any thing more grateful to his Dissenting Subjects in *England*, than in being kind unto *New-England* in the Restoring of their former Privileges. The King bad them rest Satisfied, *That it should be done.*

⁴² But behold, while the *Charter Bill* was Depending, the *Convention-Parliament* was Unexpectedly *Prorogued*, and then *Dissolved*; and Mr. *Mather* found the *Sisyphæan* Labour of a whole Year come to nothing.⁴³

§. 4. The Disposition of the next Parliament soon appeared such, that nothing in the Favour of *New-England* was to be Expected there. Mr. *Mather* then made some Essays, to see if by a *Writ of Error in Judgment*, the case relating to the *Massachuset-Colony* might be brought out of *Chancery* into the *King's Bench*; but this Attempt also was Defeated by so Surprising a Providence, that Mr. *Mather* Declared upon it;

⁴² A letter of the King to the Colony, dated 12th Aug. 1689, is in HUTCHINSON (Hist. i. 390-391, note). It orders those in power "to continue in our name your care in the administration thereof and preservation of the peace, until we have taken such resolutions and given such directions for the more

orderly settlement of the said government, as shall most conduce to our service, and the security and satisfaction our subjects within that Colony."

⁴³ Parliament was prorogued 27 Jan. 1689-90, and formally dissolved a few days later.

it; *Never did I see a more Signal Hand of Heaven in any matter, than in Disappointing all Hopes, for the Obtaining the so much Desired full Restitution of all our Charter Privileges, by a Reversion of the Judgment Entred against them.*⁴⁴

All Hopes of Obtaining the Restoration of the *Old Charter* being at an End, there was no way left, but a Flight unto the Royal Favour; For though it was not in the Kings Power to *Reverse the Judgment* against the *Old Charter*, yet His Majesty had power to Re-incorporate his good Subjects there, and grant them a NEW CHARTER, that should contain all the *Old*, with New and more Ample Privileges; Without which, the *Old* would not have been Sufficient.

Mr. *Mather*, with Two other Agents,⁴⁵ which the *Massachusetts Colony* had then joined with him, now Signed a Petition to the KING, for such a NEW CHARTER: which Petition the Right Honourable Earl of *Monmouth* Condescended so far, as to deliver with his own truly Noble Hand. Whereupon Mr. *Mather* Obtained the Intercession of a great Personage, which Prevailed with the King to refer the Affair of *New-England* unto the Consideration of the Two Lord Chief Justices, with His Majesties Attorney and Solicitor-General: All of whom had by Mr. *Mathers* Powerful and Assiduous Applications been brought into the *New English* Interests. They met Three or Four Times, and kindly gave him leave to be Present with them at all their

⁴⁴ We are still without any clew to this surprising Providence. It may have been some occurrence in the Court of King's Bench, but probably, if traced out, it would hardly seem as marvellous to us as it did to Mather.

⁴⁵ The two agents thus added were Oakes and Cooke; see *ante*, p. 59; and on p. 43 will be found the Petition.

The Earl of Monmouth, Charles Mordaunt, so created 9 April, 1689; he was nephew of Henry Carey, 2d Earl, who died in 1661. In the mean time the Dukedom of Monmouth had been created and lost, as is well known. Mordaunt is better known as the Earl of Peterborough, a title he inherited in 1697.

their Consultations. The Heads of the *Massachusetts* OLD CHARTER, and Sr. *Ferdinando Gorges*, were Presented in Writing, together with such *Additional Privileges*, as were then Pray'd for: And they all judged, there was nothing Unreasonable, or Prejudicial to the Kings Interest in what was Propos'd. They were Presented unto the King, by the Lord Chief Justice *Holt*; and the King Ordered him to Present them unto the Council; who did accordingly; and from thence they were transferred unto the *Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations*.⁴⁶

§. 5. Immediately upon this, the King took his Voyage for *Holland*:⁴⁷ and before his Return, there was *no more to be done*. But still Mr. *Mather* would be *doing of something* for the

⁴⁶ It must be remembered that Mather thus has summed up two years' labor at court, viz., all of 1689 and 1690. The application last mentioned resulted in the following Order in Council, which is printed in *Mafs. Hist. Soc. Coll.* 4th Ser. ii. 301:—

At Kensington, the first of January 1690 [91]. Present the King's most excellent Majesty.

Whereas it is humbly desired by the persons employed on behalf of the Massachusetts Colony in New England; that in regard they were Incorporated by the Letters Patent of King Charles the first, the heads whereof are hereunto annexed, And for that the said Corporation did afterwards purchase from the Heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Province of Maine, granted to the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges by Letters Patent of the said King Charles the first, an abstract of which is also hereunto annexed, and enjoyed the same till the late judgement

against them. That their Majesties would be pleased to re-establish their Corporation, and grant them their Lawes and former Priviledges, as in the severall Papers annexed is at large set forth. His Majesty in Council is pleased to referr this matter to the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, who are to examine the same, and to report their Opinion thereupon to this Board.—[*William and Mary*, vol. ii. 95.]

It may be here pointed out that in August, 1689, Mather thought his work was done, and actually took ship for home. His son being taken sick, he was delayed, and, returning to London, the change in affairs kept him at his post two years longer. I had overlooked this passage when I prepared the Memoir prefixed to the second volume of these Tracts.

⁴⁷ William failed for Holland 18th Jan. 1690–91.

the good of his Country. He Published, *Reasons for the Confirmation of Charter-Privileges, granted to the Massachusetts-Colony*, which he Dispersed among the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council; and Personally Addressed himself unto the most of them; humbly Praying their Lordships Favour to *New-England*, in a matter that appeared so Equal. His *Maxim* was, That in all Affairs, *a Few did All*; and his *Method* was, To find out the most *Potent Leaders* in all Affairs, and make sure of them. If he knew any N. C. Minister, who had an Interest in any Person of Quality, he would engage that Minister to Employ his Interest on the behalf of *New-England*; One way of engaging him, was by Preaching for him: And, This also Introduced *him* into the same Acquaintance. There were several Noblemen, who likewise, brought him into the Knowledge and Favour of others. But none did more for him that way, than that Cordial and Constant Lover of all good Men, the Aged Lord *Wharton*, who was the last surviving Member of that Famous *Assembly of Divines* at *Westminster*. Among those Eminent Persons, who Admitted him to be Familiar with them, I will particularly mention Two that were of an *Ecclesiastical Character*, for the sake of the Good that was done to *New-England* by his Acquaintance with them. The one was Dr. *Tillotson*, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*: who did at his Desire, often concern himself to do kind Offices for the Country, and Pray, both the King and Queen to put Marks of their Favour on their Faithful Subjects there; and once he went so far as to tell the King, *It would by no means do well for him to take away any of those Privileges from the People of New-England, which K. Charles I. had granted them.* And indeed Mr. *Mather* often spoke of the Catholic Spirit, with which the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* blamed the Conduct of his Predecessor *Land*, in his Discourses with him. The other was Dr. *Burnet*,

net, the Bishop of Salisbury: who besides many Real and Weighty Expressions of his kindness for the Country, told him, That he would on the first Opportunity declare Openly in the House of Lords, That there was a greater Sacredness in the Charter of New-England, than in those of the Corporations in England; Because those were only Acts of Grace, whereas the Charter of New-England was a Contract between the King & the first Patentees: They Promised the King to Enlarge his Dominions, on their own Charges, Provided, that they and their Posterity might enjoy such and such Privileges: They had Performed their part; Now for the King to Deprive their Posterity of the Privileges therein Granted unto them, would carry a Face of Injustice in it. A Lord great in the Court, then told Mr. Mather, That his having Engaged the Bishop of Salisbury to appear for New-England was the best Jobb he had done these Seven Years.

§. 6. But a Greater than any of these, must not be left Unsolicited. Mr. Mather was by Madam Lockart⁴⁸ Introduced unto the QUEEN, on Apr. 9. 1691. and she left him alone with her Majesty, that he might the more freely represent the case of *New-England* unto her.

The Discourse was, as followeth,

M^a. I do most Humbly pray Your Majesties Favour to your Good Subjects in New-England. There are none in the World more in Your Interest than they; nor any that do with greater Devotion Pray for Your Long and Happy Reign. They have indeed been Exposed unto great Troubles on the account of their Loyalty unto your Majesty. For the French

⁴⁸ Madam Lockart was undoubtedly one of the six Women of the Bed Chamber”
 edly the “Mrs. Martha Lockhart one in the official lists of 1693.

French at Canada, who have invaded them, and have Destroyed several of their Plantations, gave that as the Reason of what they did; Because the People there have Declared for King William and Queen Mary. They now only Pray, that they may be Resettled in the Enjoyment of those Privileges, which they were Possessed of, until the last Year of King Charles II.

QUEEN. That matter has been a Long Time before the Council. I would have that which is *Just* done for them; and not only so, but that something of *Favour* should be shewn to them.

Ma. *I most Humbly Thank Your Majesty, for the Kind Words which Your Majesty was Pleased to Speak to my Lady Southerland about New-England.*

QUEEN. Mr. *Mather*, I have had a great Character of you, from my Lady *Southerland*. I have spoken to the King on the behalf of *New-England*. He told me, the matter was before the Council.

Ma. *It has been referr'd unto the Two Lord Chief Justices, with the Attorney and Solicitor-General; we only Pray, that the Articles Approved by them, may be Allowed and Confirmed to us.*

QUEEN. That seems Reasonable; and I doubt not, but it will be done for you.

Ma. *I Humbly beg, That your Majesty will Please to Speak so Kind a Word unto the King upon his Return. You will thereby bring the Blessing of the Prayers of a Good People on Your Royal Person and Government.*

QUEEN.

QUEEN. I shall be willing to do all I can for them.

Ma. I have Reason to Believe, that Your Good Subjects there have been Misrepresented unto Your Majesty. Some that bear them Ill Will, have Printed many Reflections on them.

QUEEN. I have not seen all the Pamphlets.

Ma. Sr. William Phips has with many of Your Majesties Subjects, endeavoured to enlarge Your Majesties Dominions; and they are willing again to expose themselves in Your Majesties Service.

QUEEN. Are they Able to do it? I hear they are but in a Bad Condition.

Ma. They are in a Bad Condition; But One great Reason of it is, because their Government yet remains Unsettled.

QUEEN. That I Believe; It must needs be so!

Ma. If by your Majesties Favour, they shall be Restored unto their former Privileges, they will Revive, & become able to Serve Your Majesties Interest.

QUEEN. I doubt, there have been Differences There, as well as Here, about Church Government.

Ma. In New-England they are generally those that are Called Non-Conformists: But they carry it with all due Respect unto others: We Judge some of them to be better Men than ourselves. This Nation has cause to Bless GOD,
for

for the KING, and for Your Majesty, in regard of that Act of Indulgence, and the Liberty of Conscience, which through Your Majesties Favour we now enjoy.

QUEEN. Tis what I am for. It is not in the Power of Men to Believe what they Please; and therefore I think, they should not be forced in matters of Religion, contrary to their Perswasions and their Consciences. I WISH ALL GOOD MEN WERE OF ONE MIND; HOWEVER IN THE MEAN TIME, I WOULD HAVE THEM LIVE PEACEABLY, AND LOVE ONE ANOTHER.

O mentis Aureæ Verba bracteata! My ink, Too Vile a Liquor art thou, to Write so Divine a Sentence!

§. 7. Before the Month was out, the King returned from *Holland*; And though he staid but a Fortnight in *England*, Mr. *Mather* twice had the Honour of waiting on Him. The first time he only Presented an Address from the *General Court* at *Boston*, with a Petition from a considerable Number of Merchants in *London*,⁴⁹ Praying that *Charter-Privileges*

⁴⁹ The Order in Council, printed in *Mafs. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th Ser. ii. 301-302*, is as follows:—

At Whitehall the 9th of April, 1691.

An address to his Majesty from divers of the Gentry, Merchants and others inhabiting in Boston, Charles Town, and Places adjacent in New England, having been this day humbly presented by Sir Purbeck Temple and read at the Board. It is thereupon ordered in Council, That the consideration thereof be referred to the Right Honourable The Lords of the Com-

mittee for Trade and Plantations, And that a Copy of the said Address be sent to the Agents of New England, who are to give their Lordships an account in writing of the present State of the Massachusetts Colony, on Thursday next at Five in the afternoon, when their Lordships are to meet, And all persons concerned in New England are to have notice to attend, and particularly Sir William Phipps, who is then to bring to the Committee a relation of the late proceedings and Expedition of the People of New England against Canada, under his command.—[William and Mary, vol. ii. 149.]

leges might be Restored unto *New-England*. But Mr. *Mather* was desirous once more to Plead with him for Favour to his Country: and therefore by the Mediation of the Duke of *Devonshire*, he was, on *Apr.* 28. Admitted a second time, and it was now into the Kings Bed-Chamber: Where what then Passed was, as followeth.

M^a. I most Humbly Thank Your Majesty, in that you were Graciously Pleas'd to signify unto my Lord *Devonshire*, that I might have leave to wait on your Majesty on the behalf of *New-England*. None of Your Subjects, are or can be more in Your Interests than They; None Pray more Heartily for Your Long Life, and your Happy Reign, and the Success of Your Arms.

KING. Syr, What do you Desire, that I should do for them!

M^a. May it Please Your Majesty, That they may be Restored unto their Ancient Privileges; and that their Settlement may be Expedited. They have an Humble Confidence, that through Your Majesty's Goodness, they shall be made Happy, in having their Ancient Privileges Restored unto them; which will Oblige Your Subjects there to be Your Servants forever. Your Majesty has been Graciously Pleas'd to refer the Consideration of this Affair to the Two Lord-Chief-Justices, with the Attorney and Solicitor General. We only Pray Humbly, that what they have thought Reasonable for us to Desire, may be Granted by Your Majesty.

KING. I Expect within two or three Days, to have a Report from the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations; and then shall see what may be done.

M^a.

Ma. Your Majesties Subjects have been willing to Venture their Lives that they may enlarge Your Dominions: And are willing to do the like again, if Your Majesty Encourage them. Will Your Majesty Please, in Your Great Wisdom, to consider the Circumstances of that People; as in Your Wisdom you have considered the Circumstances of England and of Scotland. In New England they differ from other Plantations; They are such as are called Congregational and Presbyterian. So that such a Governour will not suit with the People of New England, as may be very Proper for the other English Plantations.

Having so spoken, he bowed unto the King; who then retired into his Closet

Two Days after this, the Lords of the Committee Proposed⁵⁰ unto the KING, whether he would have the People of

⁵⁰ The Order in Council, printed in Mafs. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th Ser. ii. 302, is as follows:—

At Whitehall, the 30th of Aprill, 1691.

Present, The King's most excellent Majesty. His Royall Highness Prince George of Denmark, President of the Council.

His Majesty having upon the application of the Agents of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, thought fit to refer the draught of a new Charter for that Colony, unto the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, And their Lordships having, upon consideration thereof, this day reported to His Majesty that they humbly conceived it necessary that before there be any further proceedings relating to that Charter, His Majesty would declare whether it be His royall pleasure to haue a Governor or single representative of his own appointment, from time to time, to give his consent to all Laws and Acts of Government,

as in Barbados and the other Plantations, or whether his Majesty would leave the power of making laws to the People, or Officers appointed by them. And his Majesty upon debate of this matter having been acquainted that the former Charter of the Massachusetts Bay stood legally vacated, And that the Agents of that Colony had desired a new Charter from his Majesty, with divers variations from the former Charter; His Majesty was thereupon pleased to declare in Councill, That he did resolve to send a Governor of his own nomination and appointment for the administration of the Government of the Massachusetts Colony, as in Barbados and other Plantations. And did further order, as it is hereby ordered, That the Right Honorable the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations do forthwith prepare the draught of a new Charter upon that foundation, for the speedy settlement of the said Colony. — [William and Mary, vol. ii. 161.]

of *New-England*, make what *Laws*, and Appoint what *Officers* They Pleased? Or, Whether He would not appoint a *Governour* of His own, that should have a *Negative Voice* on all Acts of Government? The King was very Inquisitive to know, whether he might without any *Breach of Law*, set a Governour over that Colony? Diverse Lords of the Council, and some of the Judges, answered, That whatever might be the Merit of the Cause, inasmuch as the *Charter* of the *Massachusetts-Colony* stood Vacated by a Judgment against it, it was in his Power to put them under what Form of Government he should think best for them. The King then said, That he was Desirous to Promote the Welfare of *New-England* as well as of *England*; and that he Believed it would be for the Advantage of the Subjects in that Colony to be under a Governour appointed by himself: but that he would have the Agents of *New-England* Nominate a Person that should be Agreeable to the Inclinations of the People there: And that notwithstanding This, he would have *Charter-Privileges Restored and Confirmed unto them*.

§. 8. The next Day, the King began his Voyage to *Holland*: but an *Order of Council* was drawn up, [*Who can tell, How, or Why?*] for a *Charter* to be Prepared, with something in it, very Disagreeable to Mr. *Mather*; who immediately waited upon Four or Five Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council with his Remonstrances; Every one of which Declared, that in their Opinion, it was not worded according to His Majesties Intentions. He also caused a Copy of the Order to be transmitted unto One of his Majesties Principal Secretaries of State then with Him in *Flanders*; Praying, That if that Order were not according to the Kings Mind, His Majesty would Graciously Please to Signify His Disapprobation thereof: But no such Signification

tion ever came. In the mean time, the Attorney General, Prepared a Draught of a *Charter* according to what he took to be the Kings Mind, as Expressed when His Majesty was last in Council. In this Draught, the Freemen (and not all Free-holders) had Power to choose the Deputy-Governour, and the other General Officers; And the Kings Governour had not a Negative Voice in any case allow'd unto him. The Draught being presented at the Council-Board, it was by some Objected, That by such a *Charter* as this, the *Kings Governour* would be made a *Governour of Clouts*: And Order was given for other *Minutes* to be Inserted, which Deprived the *Massachusetts-Colony* of some very Considerable Privileges in their *former Charter*. The Secretary gave Mr. *Mather* a Copy of them, with an Order from their Lordships, That if the Agents for the *Massachusetts-Colony* were not Satisfied, they should bring in their Objections to Mr. Attorney General. Mr. *Mather* on this occasion Expressed his Dissatisfaction to the Attorney-General, with a *Pathos*, that upon Reflection he thought might be too Extraordinary: Earnestly Protesting, That he would sooner part with his Life than Consent unto such *Minutes*, or unto any thing that might Infringe any Liberty or Privilege that justly belong'd unto his Country. The like Declaration he made unto several of the Chief Ministers; who all replied. That no body Expected or Desired his Consent: for they did not look on the Agents from *New-England*, as *Plenipotentiaries* from another Sovereign State; But that if they Declared, they would not Submit unto the Kings Pleasure, His Majesty would settle the Country as He Pleas'd, and They were to *take what would follow*. However, Mr. *Mather* drew up Reasons against the Minutes Proposed; and particularly urged, That *Charter-Privileges* might with as much (if not more) of Justice, be withheld from the Corporations in *England* which were never legally Restored, as from *New-England*:

land: with several other Arguments. These Reasons he Delivered in Writing to the Kings Attorney-General, who Presented them unto the Lords at the Council-Board; and he also caused a Copy of them to be sent unto the King in *Flanders*; Procuring some Great Persons at the same time, to solicit by Letters, the Ministers of State with the King, that they would use their Interest with His Majesty, to prevent any thing that might be grievous to His Good Subjects in *New-England*. Some thought, that if the *King* were in *England*, there might be more likelihood of Stopping the Disagreeable and Undesireable *Minutes*; and the *Queen* was therefore Prevailed withal, to Write unto the *King*, requesting him, That He would Graciously Command, that the *Charter* should pass as the Attorney-General had prepared it, or else that it should be deferr'd until His Majesties coming over. Mr. *Mather* taking it for granted, That he might get some Leisure to recover his *Health*, which had been greatly Impaired, by his Neglect both of *Rest* and *Food* in his close Attendance to the Service of his Country, made a short Recess unto the *Waters*. But he was quickly surprized, with Notice, that the King had signified His Approbation of the *Minutes*, and His Royal Pleasure, that the *Charter* should be accordingly forthwith proceeded in. His Majesties Principal Secretary of State shewed Mr. *Mather* the Letter, wherein the King also Declared, That he did *by no means Approve* of the Objections, which had been offered. When there could no more *Good* be done, what remain'd was to stave off *Harm* as far as might be; and in Pursuance of This, he Presented a Petition, That no *Property* belonging to the Colony, or to any therein, might by the *New Charter* be taken from them, nor any Privileges which they had a Right to; That the *Province of Main* might be confirmed, and *Nova Scotia* added unto the *Massachusetts*: (Both of which were obtain'd against much Opposition:)

And,

And, That *Hampshire* might be under that Government: (But This was refused, because it was declared, That the People there had expressed a great Aversion for it.) Just at this Time, he received Letters from the General Court of *Plymouth-Colony*, which Thanked him for his Preventing their being annexed unto *New York*, which had been above a Year before if *he* had been out of the way; and Pray'd, That if they might not be confirmed as a *Distinct Government* among themselves, he would, *for the Lords sake*, endeavour to get them annexed unto *Boston*; And This was accomplished. When the *New Charter* was finished, and had been Read before the Lords, he pray'd, that he might see it; because there might be some Clauses in it, which their Lordships might upon a Suggestion of Reasons for it, think proper to alter; and perhaps there might be something Added for the Good of the People, which their Lordships might also be Pleased withal; which Request was granted, with a Limitation of Three Days for the Return of the Copy. Upon his motion, the Phrase of *Corporal Oath* was altered, that so no Snare might be laid for any who might Scruple *Swearing on the Book*. A clause was added, Confirming all *Grants* made by the General Court notwithstanding any *Defect* that might attend the *Form of Conveyance*; that so mens Titles to their *Lands* might not be Invalidated, only for that the Laws which gave them their Right, had not passed under the *Public Seal* in the Time of the former Government. Some other Alterations he pray'd for; but could not Obtain them. Thus was the *New Charter* Finished!⁵¹

§. 9.

⁵¹ This defence of Mather's action in accepting the charter is set forth in a publication made after his return, and printed in our second volume, pp. 271-

296. The account in Hutchinson's History, vol. i., should also be consulted by the reader.

§. 9. NOW came on a *Strange Question*: *Whether the Agents for the Country should Submit unto this NEW CHARTER? Or, in hopes of Obtaining at some time or other a Reversion of the Judgment against the OLD CHARTER, Signify to the Ministers of State, that they had rather have NO CHARTER at all, than such an one as was now Proposed!*

On this occasion, Mr. *Mather* advised with as many Unprejudiced and Judicious Persons as he could; with Noblemen, Gentlemen, Divines, and Lawyers; and with the Best Friends *New-England* had in the World. They ALL agreed, That it was a *Duty*, to accept of the Offered CHARTER; And some greatly wondred at them that should make any *Question* of it: and were almost ready to say of them, as *Plato* in his *Philebus* does of some who made a *Question* of another matter; *Let them be Committed unto the Care of some Learned Physician, who by wholesome Physic may restore their Heads unto a better Temper.*

A *Peremptory Refusal*, would have brought a Fatal Ruin on the Country; and the Blame would have been laid on those, who when they could not *Obtain* all they would have, would *Refuse* what they might have had.

The Lawyers declared, That a passive *Submission* here, had nothing of a *Surrender* in it; for here was nothing of *Hand and Seal* in the Case. Besides, *Judgment* was already Entred and Recorded against the *Old Charter*. And a taking up with the *New Charter*, did not render the Colony incapable of recovering their *Old Privileges* if there should be a favourable Opportunity to Sollicit for it.

At present, there was no Possibility of getting a *Reversion of the Judgment* against the *Old Charter*.

Yea, and it was considered, That the *Old Charter* was on more Accounts than One, so very Defective, that without a Grant

Grant of *Additional Privileges*, it would have left the Colony under Insupportable Infelicities.

By it, the *Massachusset-Government* had no more power than the Ordinary *Corporations* have in *England*; But those *Corporations* have no power in *Capital Cases*. Though *Corporations* have Power given them in *Criminal*, yet they have not in *Capital Cases*, except it be *Expressly Declared*; which it was not *here*.

The *Old Charter* directed not an *House of Deputies*, or *Assembly of Representatives*.

Nor did it give Power unto the *Governour and Company* to Impose Taxes on any but the *Free-men*.

And it knew not *Courts of Admiralty*; So that if the *New Charter* have them not, it is not the Loss of the *Old One* that has Lost them. Yea, The *Deficiencies* were so many, That the Kings Attorney General declared, the Two Lord-Chief-Justices and Solicitor-General Concurring with him; That Supposing the Judgment against the *Massachusset-Charter* to be Reversed, yet, if the Government should exert *such Powers* as before the *Quo Warranto* against the *Charter* they tho't it necessary to do, there would now be a Writ of *Scire facias* issued out against them in *Westminster Hall*, and their *Charter-Privileges* would undoubtedly be taken from them.

It was moreover Considered, That if the Judgment against the *Old Charter* had been fully Reversed by *Act of Parliament*, (which Mr. *Mather* had so much Laboured for,) the *Massachusset-Colony* would, for all *that*, have been reduced into Miserable Circumstances.

The *Province of Main*, as to the Government, would have been taken from them. *Hampshire* and *Plymouth* would have been put under a Governour sent from *England*. This Governour would have had the Power of the *Militia*,
as

as well as the *Courts of Admiralty*, in the *Massachusetts Colony*.

How much of its Trade had *Boston* Lost? What an Insignificant *Atom* had the Colony been Squeeze'd into! If they had Exerted Powers, without which they could not have Comfortably or Tolerably Subsisted, *Perpetual Complaints* would have been made against them. It's probable They would have been at more Charge every Year, to answer *Complaints*, than they would have been to Support their *Governour*. And how long must they have lain under their *Impotency*, Saying, *Syr, I have no Man to help me!*

Besides all this; If the Agents of the Colony, had signified unto the Ministers of State, that they had rather have *No Charter* at all, than *This* which the King had now granted, *Who* would have been Immediately made the *Governour*? *Who* the *Lieutenant-Governour*? *Who* the most of the *Counsellors*? And the *Governour* would have had Power, as in the other Plantations, to Appoint General Officers. What the Consequence of *This* at *that* Angry Time? *Dicat Neo-Eboracum!*

There were also Persons, who were seeking *Patents* for all the *Mines*, and *Gums*, and some other *Valuables*, in the Country; whose Expectations, nothing but the *New Charter* gave a Defeat unto.

But, Let us come to the NEW CHARTER, THIS grants Great Privileges to the People of *New-England*; and some Greater than what they formerly Enjoy'd.

They have all *English Liberties* Restored unto them. They can have no *Laws* Imposed, nor *Taxes* Levied on them, without their own Consent, by *Representatives* chosen by themselves.

Religion is forever Secured; A Righteous and Generous *Liberty of Conscience* Established. And the *General Assembly*

bly may by their Acts, give a *Distinguishing Encouragement* unto that Religion, which is the *General Profession* of the Inhabitants.

They may still have their *Judges as at the first*, and their *Counsellours as at the Beginning*, if the Fault be not their own. As long as their Principal Majestrates, and Justices, favour and exprefs *Piety*, and abhor and punish *Wickedness*, tis to be hoped, *Religion* will be kept in Heart. And if they have not such, the Fault will not be in the *New-Charter*, but in *Themselves*. Behold, A *wall of Defence* about the *Vineyard* !

Now the *Massachusetts-Colony* is made a Province, the *General Assembly* hath, with the Kings Approbation, a Power in *New-England*, like what the King and Parliament have in *England*; and may do abundance of Important Things, which could not be done by vertue of the *Former Charter*: And the Country may also look for more Protection and Assistance from *England*, than under *That*. —

Suppose a *Stork* should get a Commission for the Government; What can such a Governour do? He cannot, without the Consent of the *Council* chosen by the Representatives of the People, appoint *Sheriffs* to pack Juries for him, or *Judges* that will Displease GOD rather than him. He can't give any Man any Disturbance for his Religion, without Violating the *Magna Charta* of *New-England*. He can't exert any of the *Violences*, under which there were heard, *The Groans of the Plantations* in the Days of K. James, II. When, the People of *New-England* would have given, who can say, how many Thousands of Pounds, for such a *Charter* as they now have before them?

The Kings Governour has indeed a *Negative* in all Acts of Government; (And indeed all Government forever implies a *Negative* :) which renders the Government of *New-England* less *Democratical* than once it was. Nevertheless, the
People

People have a *Negative* upon *him* : In which respect, *New-England* is by the NEW CHARTER more Privileged, than *Ireland*, or than any other English Plantation, or than even *England* itself.

Appeals to *England* are allow'd in the *New-Charter*, but only in *Personal*, (not at all in *Real* or *Mixed*) *Actions*, where the matter of Difference, is of above Three Hundred Pound Sterling in Value : So that as to Titles of Land, there cannot be any Appeals to *England* : They have a Final Determination in Courts of Judicature among themselves.

The *Laws* Enacted by the *General Court*, are, tis true, to be transmitted unto the King for His Royal Approbation : But those *Laws*, when made, are in *Force*, as soon as they are made ; and until such Time as they are *Disallow'd* by the King : And if within the space of *Three Years* the Kings Disapprobation be not Signified, the *Laws* are Perpetual until the *General Court* shall Repeal them. Now by the *Old Charter*, the Governour and Company might not make any *Laws Repugnant unto the Laws of England* ; and the *Laws* which have Reason and Justice in them, under the *New Charter*, need not fear losing the *Royal Allowance*, if the People be not Egregiously wanting to themselves.

Upon the whole, The Persons of the most Consummate Wisdom that Mr. *Mather* could consult withal, agreed in This ; *Take your NEW-CHARTER and be Thankful for it !* The most sensible Men added, That as Poor a *Charter* as wanton and froward Minds might think it, if any *People of Sway* in the Country should be so under the Sting of an *Hornet* as to do those Rash and Mad Things, which may procure the Loss of the Privileges which it brings unto them, the rest of the People will certainly have little Honour for the Memory of the Unhappy Men, who have been the Instruments of bringing such Mischiefs upon them. Among the

the rest, that Sagacious and Ingenious Person, Præsident *Bond* of *Barbadoes* (then at *London*) said unto him : *What would not we in our Islands give for such a Charter as yours !* And the famous *Mr. Matthew Mead* then wrote unto the Person who is now Writing about the Faithful Agent, *If Men Reward not his Great Work, and Labour of Love, I am sure, GOD will. What he has done has not been without the Counsel and Advice of the Best Friends New-England has : Parliament-men, Lawyers and Ministers.*

§. 10. Wherefore, not only on *Oct. 23.* upon the Kings Return to *England*, the Earl of *Nottingham* introduced him, only to kiss the Kings Hand, & bid him, Welcome to *England* again : when the King at the first sight of him, smiled on him, & stepping aside unto him, said, *I am very glad to see you, Syr !* But also on *Nov. 4.* the same Noble Person Introduced him again to His Majesty, the Earls of *Devon* and *Portland*, being also Present. He then said, *I do on the behalf of New-England most humbly thank your Majesty, in that you have been Pleased by a CHARTER to Restore English Liberties unto them ; To Confirm them in their Properties ; and, To grant them some singular Privileges. I doubt not, but that your Subjects there will demean themselves with such a Dutiful Affection and Loyalty towards your Majesty, as that You will see cause to enlarge Your Royal Favours towards them. And I do most humbly Thank your Majesty in that You have been Pleased to give leave unto those that are concerned for New-England, to Nominate their Governour. Sr. William Phips has been accordingly Nominated by us at the Council-Board : Who has done a Good Service for the Crown by enlarging Your Dominions, and reducing of Nova Scotia to Your Obedience. I know, that he will Faithfully Serve Your Majesty to the*
utmost

utmost of his Capacity; And if Your Majesty shall think fit to confirm him, in that Place, it will be a further Obligation on Your Subjects there. The KING replied, I shall take that Colony under my Protection, and I shall do what is in me for their Encouragement, and I shall take what concerns the Government there into my Consideration.

§. 11. And now, Mr. Mathers Agency for his Country in the Court of *England* is drawing towards its Period, it will be time to enquire, whether his being so Plunged into a Conversation with *Great Men*, and with *all Sorts* of Men, and his Overwhelming Sollicitude about *Civil Interests* [*In Ordine ad Spiritualia*; For, *The Care of the Churches*, was what lay at the Bottom of all!] did not *Interrupt* those *Interviews with Heaven*, which he had formerly been used unto; and *Incommode* that course of Real, Vital, Watchful PIETY, which he had formerly Maintained? *Far from it!* But above all, that *Breath of PIETY*, his Old strokes of Incessant PRAYER, was kept in its Unintermitted Respirations with him.

It is a little Obfervable That though *Homer*, by first Introducing the Gods as having the same *Vicious* Characters, and Actions with miserable *Mortals*, Proved one of the Greatest Apostles the Devil ever had in the World; yet the Testimonies born to many Points of *Morality* in his Famous and Wondrous *Epic Poem*, are numberless. But there is nothing more worthy of Observation in the *Iliad*, than This; That he will Recommend *Prayer* to Heaven as a most necessary Preface unto all Important Enterprizes: and he never Speaks of any *Prayer*, but he brings in a Gracious Answer to it. I have seen the Quill of an *High-flyer* Scoffing at *Homer* for this, as making his *Hero's* to be of the same Religion with the *Dissenters* in our Nation. And yet, what has *Homer* done, but *Justified the Wisdom* in the Maxims of
our

our Holy REDEEMER, with a Confession from that *Natural Conscience*, which such *Scoffers of the Last Days* have Silenced? Let them *Scoff on*, if they Please; while I go on to relate, That I find Mr. *Mather* still in his *Good old way*, of *Setting apart whole Days* for *Secret Supplications* to the Glorious GOD; Especially, when *Critical Hours* for our Affairs were coming on. In these Days, I find him sometimes, under those *Afflations from Heaven*, which assured him, *That he should Return to New-England, with Good Tidings for the People there*. When he saw his Designs Crost, and his Labours Lost, in his pursuit of the *Old Charter*, it greatly Perplexed him to see what look'd unto him, as if his *Prayer* and *Faith* were Baffled. But GOD was Graciously doing better than he Imagined, for him, and for his People, whom the *Old Charter, (as it was)* would not have near so well Accommodated (*as things go*) as what is now Obtained for them. Nor was he without his *whole Days* for *Secret Thanksgivings*, when GOD had Remarkably smiled upon him. And he would sometimes (after a well-known Pattern in the Bible,) prevail with his Friends to meet, and *Fast* and *Pray*, when he was to *go in unto the King*: Or when our Affairs had any dark Obstructions upon them. Yea, such was the Sanctity and Purity of his *Good Conversation in CHRIST*, that wherever he Lodged, the Families felt *Piety* Practically and Powerfully Commended unto them. Among other Instances of this; The Young Gentlewoman that waited on him, at Mr. *Whitings* in *Copt-hall Court*, was by what she saw in him, and heard from him so brought home to GOD, that afterwards, when she was Married, she gave the World a lasting Testimony of her Gratitude, in the Remembrance of the Good which her *Converted Soul* had received from him. He likewise rarely Omitted *Preaching* on the Lords-Days: for which, in Honour to his Country he would accept of no *Gratuities*; but Obligated the Ministers

to

to do *Good Offices* for his Country. Once a Month, he Preached with Dr. *Bates*, at *Hackney*: who though he were a Person of so *Catholic a Spirit*, had one of the Smallest and Purest Churches about the City; with which he chose to have his more Constant Communion at the Holy Table: And the Doctor told his People, That if Mr. *Mather* might be detained in *England*, *he had rather have him joined with him in the Pastoral Charge, than any man in the World.*

§. 12. But, shall we go on to enquire, whether the People of *New-England*, were the only People, that were served by him? No, There was a *Special Service*, of a greater extent, wherein His Glorious Lord Employed and Honoured him. There was an Happy UNION accomplished between those Two Religious Parties, which go under the Names of *Presbyterian*, and *Congregational*; and which had through *Devices* of the Great Adversary, kept at more of a Needleless Distance from each other, than they should have done. Dr. *Annesley* and Mr. *Vincent* and others, often Declared, That this *Union* would never have been Effected, if Mr. *Mather* had not been among them; and they often therefore Blessed GOD, for bringing him to *England*, and keeping him there. He had Thanks from the *Country*, as well as the *City* on that Account: And among the rest, a General Assembly of Ministers in *Devon*, sent up to *London* this Instrument.

‘ *Junij 22. 1691.* Agreed, That the Reverend Mr. *John Flavel*, Moderator of this Assembly send unto the Reverend ‘ Mr. *Matthew Mead*, Mr. *John How*, and Mr. *Increase Mather*, and give Them, and such Others as have been Eminent ‘ Instrumental in Promoting the *Union*, the Thanks ‘ of this Assembly, for the great Pains they have taken ‘ therein.

And since it is Proper to be mention’d *somewhere*, why may I not bring in the mention of it *Here*? While Mr. *Mather*

Mather was in *London*, he Cultivated a singular Friendship and Freedom, with that very Great Man, Mr. *Baxter*, who treated him with a Deference, which he paid unto few other Men. In this Acquaintance, Mr. *Baxter* not only made this Generous Request unto Mr. *Mather*, *Syr, If you find any Errors in any of my Writings, I request you to Confute them, after I am Dead*; But also made unto him a very Respectful Dedication of a Book, which he Published a little before he Died. I find in Dr. *Bates's* Funeral Sermon for Mr. *Baxter*, a mention of the Visit which he with Mr. *Mather* made unto Mr. *Baxter* the Day before his Expiration, (which was, Dec. 8. 1691,) when the last Words of Mr. *Baxter* to Mr. *Mather* were, *I blefs GOD that you have Accomplisht your Business; The LORD Prolong your Life!*

§. 13. The *Business* being so Accomplished, there yet remains One Enquiry more; How was he Subsisted for the *Expenses* of his Agency.

In the Year, 1691. while he was yet in *London*, he wrote these Words, in a brief *Account of his Negotiation*, which he sent over to the Government.

‘ Besides what was sent to me out of *New-England*, I Expended upwards of *Two Hundred Pounds* of my own Personal Estate, out of Love to that People. And I did for their sakes, borrow of a Merchant in *London*, above *Three Hundred Pounds* more, which it was Two Years before Care was taken for the Repayment of it. The last Year, some who were hearty Well-wishers to *New-England*, wrote thither, That they must consider, how much depended on a suitable Supply; yet for more than a Twelve-month, not one Penny was returned; so that I was necessitated, either to suffer a Ruin to come upon the Country, or else must borrow Money again to Serve them; which I did, and

‘ engaged

‘engaged all the Estate I have in the World, for the Repayment thereof.’

Some time after this, there was Published a Venemous and Malicious Libel, by a mean Hand, instigated in part from the *Invisible World*, and well worthy to be Recommended unto the *Rebuke of the Lord*, which was Entitled, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*. The Conscience of Duty to the *Ninth Commandment* of my GOD, as well as the *Fifth*, obliges me to Declare, (which I hope, I may do without any *Railing Accusation*;) That the Book is full of Grofs, Base, Notorious LYES; and has been Unanswerably Convicted of being so; and they who take their Accounts of *New-England* from it, follow but an *Ignis fatuus*. On the occasion of the *Slanders* uttered in that *foolish* Book, Mr. *Mather* gave under his Hand unto some Honeft Men, who Published a Victorious Answer to them, an Instrument, which had these among other Passages.

‘I am also told, that his great Friends Complain, That I spent the Country a great deal of Money, during my Agency in their behalf. These little Men know not what it is, to attend in the Courts of Kings for Four Years together: if they *did*, they would not make that Objection. And sure I am, that when I did, at the desire of many Principal Persons in the Country, undertake a Voyage for *England*, in *April*. 1688. People in this *Province* would have given *Ten times more* than what I Expended in their Service, on condition they might have Restored and Confirmed unto them, what they now Enjoy: yea, if it had been but in *One Article* of it. But besides this, I may truly affirm, that in Effect I served the Country on *Free cost*. For I never demanded the least Farthing as a Recompense for the Time I spent in attending on their Affairs; but instead thereof, I procured in *Donations* for the public (besides the Privileges

‘Privileges of the *Charter* itself, which, though not so great ‘as I would have had, and as I would gladly have parted ‘with all I have in this World for to have purchas’d, are ‘greater than what any other Plantations besides *New-England* enjoys: I say, Besides these Things I procur’d ‘in *Donations* to the Province and the College) at least ‘*Nine Hundred Pounds more than all the Expences of my Agency came to.* This being plain *Matter of Fact*, which ‘the whole *General Assembly* once had before them, I suppose, all Reasonable men will own, That *Reproaches* cast on ‘me, for my *Expensiveness* in the Public Service are most ‘Ungrateful and Unworthy.

But here, this *Long Chapter* shall have a *Period*; and, I hope, a *Pardon*. Only it seems I must again ask a *Pardon* also for the *Agent*, whose Actions I have been telling of. Some who have been vexed at good Things done by *Ministers of the Gospel*, have made mighty Clamours against *Ministers* having any thing to do in *Secular Affairs*. But the *Scripture* which forbids *Ministers* to *Entangle themselves with the Affairs of this Life*, or be so taken up with them, as to neglect the *Duties of their Ministry*, does belong to *other Vocations* as well as to that of *Ministers*. A *Physician*, an *Husbandman*, a *Merchant*, may not so meddle with *State-Affairs*, as to neglect the *Personal Business* which GOD has call’d them to. We may as well forbid *Ministers*, to Write any *Books*, but those of *Pure Divinity*, as forbid them all Cognizance of *Secular Affairs* on some Great and Just Occasions. A Speech of an Eminent Person once in the *House of Lords* observ’d, That no Reformed Church in the World, held that *Ministers* may not Intermeddle in *Secular Affairs*. He particularly mention’d *Calvin* and *Beza*, whose Influences very much governed the *Council of State* at *Geneva*: *Brentius* and *Scultet*, and *Du moulin*, and *Rivet*; and others who were *Privy-Counsellors* to *Princes*.

Tis

Tis true, *Ministers* usually have *enough to do*, in attending to their *Pastoral Charge*; and the *Ordaining* of them to *That*, is a *Filling of their Hand*. They must *Watch for Souls* as those that must *give an Account*. But when without Injury to *That*, they do upon Public and Pressing *Emergencies*, apply their *Superior Talents* to some things of a *Secular Importance*, they do but what *Honest Men* ought to do. *Opportunities to do good*, not only *Legitimate* the Application of their *Capacities* to do it, but also Oblige them and Require them to do it.

Hence it is among the sayings of the great *Selden*: *Tis a foolish Thing to say, A Minister must not meddle with Secular matters, because his own Profession will take up his whole man: May he not Eat, or Drink, or Walk, or Learn to Sing? The meaning is only, That he must Seriously attend his Calling*. This Mr. *Mather* did, even in the midst of his greatest Avocations.

ARTICLE XXVII.

The Returning Dove.



It is now high Time to be *Looking Homewards*. As far backwards as the Year, 1689. Things were in such an hopeful tendency towards an Happy Settlement of the Country, that Mr. *Mather*, in his Chamber at *London*, (in *Copthall Court, Throgmorton Street*) set apart several whole Days, to Acknowledge the Favours of GOD *Hitherto* Assisting and Succeeding of him. So, having obtained a Letter from the KING [Dated, *Aug. 12. 1689.*] unto those who were now in the Government here, Signifying His Approbation of what had been done by them in *Re-assuming* of the Government, and encouraging

couraging them to go on until an *Orderly Settlement* for His Service and their Satisfaction, should be Accomplished; And the *Bill for the Restoring of Charters*, and particularly those of *New-England*, having passed in the *House of Commons*; and there not being then any apparent Hazard, but that it would be carried on unto Perfection; he thought he might Return to *New England* with Comfortable Tidings. He took his leave of his Friends at *London*; and on *Aug.* 20. went as far as *Graves-End*; and the next Day to *Deal*, where the Ship lay on Board of which he took his Passage. Here he lay Wind-bound, until *Sept.* 3. when his Youngest Son,⁵² then with him, was taken so Dangerously Sick of the *Small Pox*, that it was Impossible to leave him in that Condition. The Ship went away without him; and he (with his Restored Son) returned unto *London*, in the Beginning of *October*; where it was not long before he found such a *Turn of Affairs*, as fulfill'd what his Friends told him, when they welcomed him upon his Return, *That the Gracious GOD had Stop'd his Voyage in great Mercy to his Country.* We have now seen the *Great Mercy* intended in it: And all things being finished, which concerned the Settlement of the Country, the Earl of *Nottingham* introduced him once more to the KING at *Whitehall*, *Jan.* 3. 1691, 2. in the Evening. After he had Kissed the KING'S hand, His Majesty said to him, *Are you going to New-England?* He answered, *With Your Majesties Leave, I am so. If in any thing I may Serve Your Majesties Interest there, I shall count myself Happy, that Your Majesty will Please to lay Your Commands upon me.* The KING replied, *Syr, I Thank you; I Wish you a Good Voyage.* He then said, *There is one thing, which I would humbly put Your Majesty in*
mind

⁵² This son was Samuel, b. 28 Aug. Eng. He passed the greater part of 1674, H. C. 1690, who was the minister afterwards at Witney, co. Oxford, his life in a retired manner, but was the author of several books.

mind of. We have in New-England a COLLEGE, where many an Excellent Protestant Divine has had his Education. The KING said, *I know it!* He thereupon added, *If Your Majesty will cast a favourable Aspect on that Society, it will yet Flourish more than ever.* The KING returned, *I shall willingly do it, —* And so Ended the Final Conference.

Mr. Mather, upon a Review of his Agency, was now able to use those Words, ‘As Day and Night have seen it; so I can and do Appeal to Heaven and Earth, that I have Served the People of my Country, with all Fidelity, and unto the Very utmost of my Capacity. And so, with an easy mind in himself, but great Expressions of Affection in his Friends at his taking his *ultimum Vale* of them, he left London, on Mar. 7. 1692. and Sr. William Phips, then having received the Royal Commission for the Government of New-England fetch’d him in a Yacht from Southampton, to Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where the Ship lay in which he was to take his Passage. There he Preached both parts of the Day; which he afterwards had Opportunity to do in Dartmouth, and in Plymouth.

On Mar. 29. 1692. he with the Companions of his Voyage, left Plymouth; and had a Comfortable Passage for New-England, under the Convoy of the *None-such* Frigate. Instead of their falling into the Hands of their Foes, which was much feared by their Friends, a French prize fell into their Hands. And they had also a notable Deliverance from what they commonly call, *A Tartar*: For spying some Ships which they took for French Merchant-men, their Convoy made away for them; until contrary Winds compelled them to leave the chase. But on the Day following, a French Vessel which they took, informed them, That they were Four French Men of War, which were bound home for France, from the Island of Martinico.

On May 14. he arrived safe to his House and Flock, at Boston.

Boston. And soon after the first *Great and General Assembly* of the Province was Convened; unto whom he repaired, and Reading over the *Instructions* he had received from the Government, he upon each of them Demonstrated unto the Satisfaction of the whole *Assembly*, that he had unto the utmost of his Power Punctually observed them. After some Days, and upon the most mature Examination and Deliberation, the *Speaker* in the Name of the whole House of *Representatives*, returned him Thanks for his *Faithful, Painful, Indefatigable Endeavours* to serve the Country; and added, That they were willing to *Reward* his Meritorious Endeavours; but by reason of the Expensive War under which they were Labouring, they were at present unable to do any thing Proportionable to his Merits: To which Mr. *Mather* answered, That he *Sought not Theirs but Them*, in all that he had Endeavoured, and for his *Recompence*, he was willing to expect it *in Another World*. However, he had in *This World*, so much as *This* comes to; That the *Great and General Assembly*, appointed a Day of Solemn THANKSGIVING to Almighty GOD, through the Province, for *Granting a Safe Return to His Excellency our Governour, and the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, who* (as the order expressed it) *have industriously endeavoured the Service of this People, and brought over with them a Settlement of Government, in which their Majesties have Graciously given us Distinguishing Marks of their Royal Favour and Goodness.*

He was fortified with diverse Letters from Eminent Persons, Testifying and Celebrating his Indefatigable endeavours for the Good of the Country, and adding, *While some with you may perhaps Wonder, that he has Obtained no more, we here, who have the Advantage of a better Prospect, wonder that he has done so much.* But I shall Superfede all Citations from them, with only Producing a Copy of a Letter,

Letter, Prepar'd by the Venerable Dr. *Bates*, and Signed by Twelve more ; all of them Eminent Ministers in *London* ; and such as the Doctor chose for that purpose. This was a Thing, which Mr. *Mather*, had never Desir'd or Propos'd, but that Great Man did it, and had the Names of Ten Ministers to it, before ever Mr. *Mather* spoke one Word unto any of them about it : nor could any Two of them ever be Prevailed withal to suspect any overdoing in any one expression of it.

The Letter is worth Preserving, if it were only for the Excellent Hand that Compos'd it ; For, *Cælum est Quicquid tam Docta Manus condidit.* This it is.⁵³

'To the Much Honoured General Court Assembled at
'*Boston in New-England.*

'*Much Honoured Gentlemen.*

'THE Restoring of your *Charter*, upon which the Security
'and Public Good of Your Colony Depends, We Con-
'gratulate with as *Joyful Affections*, as with *Tender Resent-*
'*ments*, We Condoled the Deprivation of it. When Your
'and Our State was in Appearance *Desolate* beyond Hu-
'mane Power and Counsel to redress, Then *Deliverance*
'*came from above*: And in our Deep Darkness, the *Day*
'*Spring from on High* visited us. We must humbly Ad-
'mire and Adore the Glorious *Author* of that Blessed
'Work: And we cannot but Pay our Grateful Respects, and
'Dutiful Subjection to His chosen Servant, our Sovereign,
'the Happy *Instrument* of it. All the Colours of Language
'are

⁵³ A portion of this letter is given of the letter on p. 312 of that volume. in Mather's Account of the Agents, But it seemed proper to give the complete text in this place, as it stands in pp. 297-298. We also printed the rest the original publication.

'are not Lively and Grateful enough to exprefs His Benefits
'to us. He has the Honour of Eftablifhing our *Religion* at
'Home, and gives us Hopes of Reftoring it abroad, in places
'from whence it has been Unrighteoufly and Cruelly Ex-
'pelled.

'Some among You may Wonder, there has been fo long
'*Delay* before Your *Charter* was finifht, but if you confider
'the Torrent of Affairs in Court after the Late *Revolution*,
'it will Leffen the Wonder.

'The Truth is, Your Affairs were fo Difficult, & Thorny,
'that the *Rare Union* of the Wifdom of the *Serpent*, & the
'Innocence of the *Dove*, was requifite in the Commiffioners
'managing of it. A Peremptory *Refufal* of any *Charter*,
'but of an Uniform Tenor with the *first*, had been like too
'Strong a Medicine, that Exafperates the Difafe inftead of
'Curing it. In Affairs of great Importance, tis Wifdom
'Maturely to Deliberate, and confider *Conditional Events*,
'and by the foresight of Inconveniences that will otherwife
'follow, to accept of fuch things as are *Beft* with refpect to
'their Circumftances. We muft therefore give this True
'Testimony of our much Efteemed and Beloved Brother,
'Mr. *Increase Mather*, That with Inviolable *Integrity*, excel-
'lent *Prudence*, and Unfainting *Diligence*, he hath Managed
'the great Bufinefs Committed to His Truft. As he is In-
'ftructed in the School of Heaven, to Minifter in the Affairs
'of the *Soul*, fo he is furnifhed with a Talent to Tranfact
'Affairs of *State*. His Proceedings have been with that
'Caution and Circumfpection, as is Correfpondent to the
'Weight of his Commiffion; He with *Courage* and *Con-*
'*ftancy* has Purfued the *Noble Scope* of his Employment,
'and understanding the *True Moment of Things*, has pre-
'ferred the *Public Good* to the *Vain Conceits* of fome, that
'*more might have been Obtained if Peremptorily Infifted on*.
'Confidering open Oppofition and Secret Arts, that have
'been

'been used to frustrate the best endeavours for the Interest
 'of *New-England*, the *Happy Issue* of these things is *Superior*
 'to our *Expectations*. Your Present *Charter* secures
 'Liberty and *Property* the fairest Flowers of the *Civil State*:
 'And which is Incomparably more valuable, it secures the
 'Enjoyment of the *Blessed Gospel* in its Purity and Freedom.
 'Altho' there is a *Restraint* of your *Power* in some things
 'that were granted in the *Former Charter*, yet there are
 'more *Ample Privileges* in other things, that may be of Per-
 'petual Advantage to the Colony.

'We doubt not but Your Faithful Agent will receive
 'a Gracious *Reward* above: And we hope his *Successful*
 '*Service* will be welcomed with your entire *Approbation*,
 'and Grateful *Acceptance*. We now with ardent Affections
 'recommend our Dear Brother to the Divine Mercy, that
 'thro' such Dangerous Seas he may safely arrive at his de-
 'sired Place. And We earnestly Pray, that the Blessings of
 'Heaven may be always upon Your Colony; that by the
 'Light and Power of the Gospel, the Prince of Darkness
 'may be Expelled from his ancient Dominions; and the
 'Kingdom of our Saviour may be Established and Enlarged,
 'by the Accession of the *American* Heathen to be His Inheri-
 'tance. Much Honoured Gentlemen,

We are,

Your very Humble,

and Faithful Servants,

L O N D O N,

Oct. 17. 1691.

<i>William Bates.</i>	<i>Thomas Woodcock.</i>
<i>Matthew Mead.</i>	<i>John James.</i>
<i>Matthew Barker.</i>	<i>Samuel Annesly.</i>
<i>Richard Stretton.</i>	<i>George Griffith.</i>
<i>Vincent Alsop.</i>	<i>Richard Mayo.</i>
<i>John How.</i>	<i>Isaac Chancy.</i>
	<i>John Quick.</i>

There

There needs no more.

— Except I should now add, That I have at this Moment before me, a Letter from Dr. *Bates* to this his Friend, which has these Expressions in it; ‘ I am truly sensible of the ‘ *Ungrateful Returns* of *Some* in your Country for all your ‘ Prudent *Conduēt*, your Unwearied *Patience*, and Happy ‘ *Succesfs*, in the Management of their Affairs. But as your ‘ *Aims* were above their Poor Acknowledgments, so your ‘ *Reward* will be in the Acceptance of Him who *Judges* ‘ *Righteously*.





An Appeal to the Men of New
England,

WITH A SHORT ACCOUNT OF MR. RANDOLPH'S PAPERS.

[1689.]

(189)

PREFATORY NOTE.

⁵⁴ THE following pamphlet, which is reprinted, by permission, from a copy in the famous library of George Brinley, Esq., presents several interesting bibliographical facts : In the first place, being printed in 1689, it must have been issued after August 2d, as it mentions Andros's attempt to escape, which took place at that date. It must also be before February, 1690, the date of Andros's return to England, as it calls him still a prisoner. Next, it is the tract referred to on p. 195 of our first volume, as a "former paper of Quâries written and published by one who had not been half seven years in this country." That pamphlet of "Further Queries" refers to the disaster at Schenectady which occurred Feb. 8, 1690, and speaks of "the summer which is now advancing." We may presume that the tract was published late in 1689, or in January, 1690, though it copies (vol. i. p. 203-204) affidavits used by Rawson and Sewall in their "Revolution in New England Justified," 1691. As these affidavits were on file, collected by a committee of seven of the General Court (see vol. i. p. 149), the writer of "Further Queries" might have had access to them easily.

The "Vindication" (vol. ii. p. 78) has at the end an Advertisement "for this compofure the reader is beholden to one, who altho' he never spent 7 years of his Life in any part of America, has been able thus to write." This "Vindication" was printed in 1690, after Palmer's second edition, which bears date in 1690, and before the "Revolution Justified" in 1691. It was clearly published in England first, and reprinted here. It is a problem, therefore, whether this "Advertisement" was on the English edition. If not, we must suppose that there was some special reason for both pamphlets, the "Further Queries" and the "Vindication," printed in 1690, bearing the allusion to "seven years." May not this expression be one used in "News from New England," the tract mentioned in our second volume, p. 205, and the only pamphlet still untraced ?

As to the authorship of the present tract nothing is known. If we accept literally the statement that he had not been in this country half seven years, we might suspect it to be the work of Rev. Charles Morton, of Charlestown. He came here in 1686, was especially opposed to Andros's government, by whom he was prosecuted, and was of course able to prepare and publish such a book. He was a friend of the Mathers, and, as will be shown, Cotton Mather must have been privy to the preparation of this tract.



An Appeal to the Men of New England,

WITH A SHORT ACCOUNT OF MR. RANDOLPH'S
PAPERS.



T is the Unhappinefs of this prefent Juncture, that too many Men relinquifh their Stations of *Privacy* and *Subjection*, and take upon them too freely to defcant upon affairs of the Publick; and thofe generally *ſuch* as have manifeftly no *Love* for, nor *Interelt* in the welfare of this Country, who yet affume a frange liberty to themſelves of juſtifying the Conduct of the late Uſurping Government, and cenſuring the Juſtice and Order of the late Revolution; and by clandeſtine Libells and open Coffee-houſe talks, endeavour to ſow *Factions* and *Diviſions* among us. It has been therefore thought fit (in order to the unity of the People, and healing the preſent diſcompoſures) to propoſe the infuing *Queries* and *Cafes*, upon which 'tis deſired every man would exerciſe his faculty of judging, that hereby he may know how to encounter the *Sophiſtries* and ſtop the mouthes of theſe peſtilent *Gain-fayers*.

1. *Of the Injury done to our Charter.*

Whether the Charters of *New England* were not invaded and vacated in purſuance of the very ſame ends that cauſed the General Attempt lately made upon the Charters throughout all the *Engliſh Dominions*?

Whether

Whether the Destruction of the *English Charters* were not one of the most considerable Branches of the late *Popish Plot*, for the subversion and utter extinction of the Protestant Religion?

Whether it be rational to suppose that our late Superiours at *Whitehall* did receive or could propose any advantage by the overthrow of our Charter Government, but only to bring us within the reach of *Popish Counsels*, when it should be time for them to work upon us?

Whether (supposing our *Charters* forfeitable) we had forfeited them by breaking any one Article or Condition in them?

Whether therefore the late Conspirators in the Court at *White-Hall* did not rob us in the *Massachusetts Colony* of our Charter, by first letting fall their *Quo Warranto*, when we had sent Agents to stand a Trial at Law; and then by issuing out a Writ of *Scire Facias* against us, requiring us to appear suddenly after at *Westminster* and so entering Judgment against us for our non-appearance, whilst in the mean time it was perfectly impossible we should have any timely notice of it?

Whether it be not a great Article in the Declaration published by his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, concerning the Reasons of his Discent into *England*, *That all Magistrates who have been unjustly turned out, shall forthwith Reassume their former Employments, and the English Corporations return to their ancient Prescriptions & Charters?*

Whether *Connecticut* died not as a Fool Dieth, and were not baubled out of their Charter, and whether they are not more knaves than fools, who would go about to make them *twice dead*, when not only their *Charter* was actually restored by the Proclamation of King *James*, but also his present Majesty has declared (as we have undoubted information) *That their Charter is as Good as ever?*

Whether

Whether we have not Received an Attested Copy of a Bill past in the House of *Commons*, which expressly Declares, *That the Proceedings against our Charter were Illegal, and a Grievance?*

Whether notwithstanding the fence of all England assembled in a full and free Parliament to the contrary, we should not rather lick up the Spittle of some of our Learned Jayl-birds, who ever now and then spawn a Pamphlet to tell us, *That we have been fairly dealt with?*

Whether when 'tis considered that for the meer hope sake of a lasting Peace and Settlement under the protections and priviledges of our *Charters*, we have with an incredible expense and labour subdued a dismal *Wilderness* into a famous & flourishing *Territory*, of no small advantage to the Crown of *England*; we may expect that it will be thought just and fair for us to be deprived of those Priviledges and Injoyments by which we were hereunto decoy'd and ruined by the miseries of an Arbitrary Government?

Whether upon the little glimmering prospect which we now have of our being freed from the wretched circumstances under which we laboured by the loss of our *Charter-Priviledges*, we may not be allowed to wear a little joy in our faces, and return thanks to our God, the Sovereign Bestower of all the good we have in Possession or Expectation?

Whether if our late *President*⁵⁵ should make it appear, either that he did not contribute to the loss of our *Charter*, or that he has a just and due regret for doing it, this might not reconcile him to the affections of the people, of which among so many that have desired to see him *humbled*, so few desire to see him *ruined*?

2. Of

⁵⁵ The late President was Joseph Dudley.

2. *Of the Commission by which we were lately Governed.*

Whether the late *Commission* by which the late Government was imposed upon us, did not deny us the *Common Rights*, which all *Englishmen* justly count themselves born unto, and entirely subject all that was dear to us unto the *Arbitrary Disposal* of five or six men, that shewed their manifest hatred to whatsoever *N.-England* loved?

Whether if indeed by our being here, we became *Slaves*, and are to be utterly excluded from all interest in making of *Laws* and raising of *Taxes*, but what is in the *submitting* and *smarting* part of them, we had not better agree to break up the Plantation, and march home for *England* again?

Whether those people who now declare for the continuance of that *Commission*, do not therein (some ignorantly, some maliciously) abet a *Treason*, and the worst of *Treasons* against the *Liberties* of the *English Nation*, and make themselves parties to the worst Enemies of their Countrey?

Whether they were persons inconsiderable for Note or Number which did call our late Government by the name of a *French Government*, and counted it an Essay or Specimen of what was intended for the whole *English Nation*?

Whether any good man has done any other than buy Repentance at a dear rate by espousing the Interests or gratifying the humours of the men that so lately Lorded over us!

Whether common Cursing and Swearing and Sabbath-breaking be not admirable qualities in a *Governour*, and such as may make any *New-Englanders* dote upon him, or endeavour his re-establishment, when we have all the assurance in the world that we shall be commended by the Authority of *England* for our deposing him?

Whether when a *Governour* has made his allowed Knot
of

of *Counsellors* competently drunk at his *Bouts* with them after midnight, they be not in a fine pickle to manage the Government of this large Territory, which no doubt now perishes for the want of such *Super-sober Counsellors*?

Whether those people who now afflict themselves with a Bodily fear that a *mean* person may now and then get into the place of a *Magistrate* amongst us, have not forgotten what sort of *Gentlemen* were amongst our late *Counsellors*? And whether they know the Original of our late boysterous *Deputy Governour*,⁵⁶ who in very good time informed us, That *the Scabbard of a Red-coat should quickly signifie as much as the Commission of a Justice of the Peace*?

What were the Qualifications which were counted enough to make a man capable of a *Place* in the late Administration?

3. *Of the Oppression which was used every day upon us in our Civil Concerns.*

Whether some of the principal Gentlemen concerned in the late Government have not once and again ingeniously confessed, *That the Government was become Intollerable.*

Whether those that *Rob* on the *Road*, or in the night under the fear of Hanging are not honest Robbers in comparison of them that *Rob* in the capacity of *Lawyers*, by making the Law it self but a Tool to manage the designs of Robbery?

Whether any man alive can tell what *Law* our late Masters were pleased to Govern by.

Whether amongst many other injuries which the *Fermentations*

⁵⁶ I suppose by this is meant Capt. Francis Nicholson, who was commissioned Lieutenant Governor, April 20, 1688, and who lived in New York. I do not find any deputy-governor named specially for this colony. Randolph was secretary, with West under him; Dudley and Palmer were judges; Sherlock was sheriff; Graham, attorney-general, &c.

tations of the last *April* did unto several honest people, this be not one, that certain pickt, settled and Standing Officers (but no Free-holders) called *Jury-men* were thereby difmiss't from their places, which we thought they must have held *Durante Vitâ*, by a Lease for their Lives?

Whether in one and the same Crime, sometimes the *Old Law* of *New-England* was not that which did convict the fault, and the *new Law* of *Old-England*, that which did adjust the Fine?

Whether we did not with a very singular Edification and Satisfaction hear our late courteous Rulers very gravely hold forth unto us, that, *It was not for His Majesties Interest that we should thrive?*

Whether the usage of the *Ipswich-Men* & the *Plymouth Men* were not so just and kind that they ought never to forget it? or whether a peaceable desiring, that we might have liberty for an *Assembly* before we Rais'd *Taxes*; or whether Begging Mony to carry on a Tryal at *Law* for *Town-lands* injuriously invaded, were an inexcusable *Treason*?

What was *Major Appleton* put, and kept in Prison, and denied an *Habeas Corpus* for?

And for what were *Major Saltonstall* and *Mr Bradstreet*, and others Imprisoned and put to a strange Cost and Charge

How many times have the *Excise-men* gone unto honest and courteous Houses in the Country, pretending themselves ill, and so procuring the Civilities that good people use to treat Strangers with, but thereupon dropt a three-pence or six-pence in a by-place of the House, and then sworn that they bought drink there; and how many times has this Trick been play'd upon persons that never sold a drop of drink in their lives? Who clapt these Knaves on the Back and held them by the Chin in these Rogueries? Who went Snips with them?

Whether

Whether Mr *Morton*, the very Reverend and no less peaceable Minister of *Charles-Town*, were not by Governour *Andros's* furious Command (contrary to the declared Sense of two of the Judges upon the Bench) drag'd out of his own County, to be Try'd for Seditious Preaching, on purpose because he thought no place but *Boston* could afford a Jury wicked enough to ruine him, on the Testimony of one single Debaucht Person, contradicted by the whole Assembly that heard the Sermon? ⁵⁷

What was the *true* Reason why no Town might meet to Transact any Parish-busines, above once a Year?

Whether it was not both verbally and really deny'd by the late Usurpers here, that any man in the Colony own'd so much as one Foot of *Land*? And so after all the vast Treasure and Labour which we had spent to provide for our selves a Livelihood in a Wilderness, had we not brought our *Hogs* (and all our other *Cattle* too) to a fair market?

Whether it were possible for all the mony and Movables in *New-England* to have paid the prizes that must have been exacted for the *Patents*, which we are now obliged to take for our *Own Lands*, even as they are stated in the Fees of the *Secretaries* Office?

Whether a certain person divers ways endear'd to our late Gang of *Mony-catchers*, having of his own a Spot of Land, worth not above Two Hundred Pounds, was not at last forced to offer Fifty Pounds for a *Patent* for it, and yet after all could not get it so, because (forsooth) a Neighbour offered to give more for a good *Title* to it?

How many Hundred Acres of other mens *Lands* have been begged by *Counsellors*, out of their singular and *fatherly* Affection to the Country? and who must have
maintained

⁵⁷ Nothing in this passage is incompatible with the supposition that Morton wrote the tract.

maintained the scores of Widows and Orphans, that must have been brought to *beg their bread*, whilst others beg'd their *Lands*?

Whether when some certain Widows that had their Lands taken from them, pleaded with these publick Thieves, and urg'd on them, *That God would one day plead the cause of the Widows*, they were not scoffingly bid to *stay till that day come*?

4. *Of the Persecution which our Sacred Concerns were assaulted with.*

Whether *Jefferies* the late Lord Chancellor of *England*, or some body else, advis'd no body, *To Ruine these Churches as fast as he could, yet not to do it by force, but to Sap them by starving the Ministers everywhere from their Employments, upon which their Churches will by consequence fall of themselves*; and whither fine steps were not taken in the practice of this Advice?

Whether in the ordinary Dispensations of Justice among us, if a person accus'd of any Crime, were a vicious, profligate, blasphemous Fellow, he were not likely to have all possible favour shewn him, but if he were a serious, holy, Good Man, he might not Expect the utmost rigour, that the extent of their sence of the Law could inflict on him?

Whether the pious Christians in *New-England* had not some cause at least why their Consciences might scruple the mode of Swearing *on the Book*, when the *Common Law* which is the only Law pretended for it in this Case, does in all old Presidents interpret a Swearing ON to be a Swearing BY the Gospels, and we have long thought it sinful to swear by any *Creatures*?

Whether some of the Justices themselves in their giving of *Oaths* did not awaken our thoughts by making the poor people

people Swear *By the Holy Evangelists*, concluding the Ooath with *so help you God and his holy Evangelists*? And whether when a man was prosecuted for Perjury, the form of his Indictment did not run, *That he did perjuriously on the Holy Evangelists of the Almighty God, Depose, &c.*? And whether even yet the Homilies of the Church of *England* do not teach us, That to say, *So help me God and Saint John*, is Idolatry?

Whether many of the best People in the Country were not Fined and Imprisoned meerly for scrupling to swear *on the Book*, though they readily offered to Swear *with an Uplifted Hand*?

Whether the least affront offered unto them that were so scrupulous were not to put them from Serving on a *Jury*, or as a *Witness*? And whether the bottom of this intreague were not chiefly to render the *Largest*, the most *sober*, and *valuable* part of the Country incapable of any *Interest* in the passage of *Justice* between man and man? And whether *some folks* would not have had then a brave time on't?

Whether those very *Judges*, who punish holy and worthy men, for only scrupling a *mode* of Swearing, ever did or durst punish a *Quaker* for not Swearing at all?

Whether none of our late Superiors had cause to know that in the Island of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*,⁵⁸ which are under the Crown of *England*, it be not according to Common Law (because Ancient Custom) to Swear with *Lifting up the Hand*?

Whether although it seem a *small Truth* for which the good people have suffered this malicious and unreasonable Persecution, yet the smallness of the Cause do not rather augment and commend the *Fidelity* of the Sufferers?

Whether the late *wise Justices* did not affirm all the
Ecclesiastical

⁵⁸ A reference, of course, to Andros.

Ecclesiastical Penal-Laws against Nonconformists to be in force against us, when they so vigorously prosecuted that worthy Minister Mr *Mather the Younger*⁵⁹ for publishing (before Sir *Edmond Andros* arrived here) a modest and placid Discourse giving the Reasons of our Dissent from the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*? And of what value with them was the late King's *Declaration* for Liberty of Conscience. And whether, when they had the power of binding and loosing the *Press*, it had not been more satisfactory for them to have answered it by Scripture and reason, or any way rather than by a ruinous *Romish* Persecution.

Whether when 't was argu'd, that it would be a very unfair thing to punish the *Noncon's* in this Countrey, for not using the Service of the Church of *England*, while the Countrey had scarce any but *Noncon's* in it; and so every man almost in the Land must pay at least 12*d* a day (besides other far greater penalties) which with Sundayes and Holy dayes would amount to four pounds a man by the year, for not being present at the *Common Prayer* Worship, that Justice had not more of the *Wolf* than the *Fox* in him, who reply'd, *We are in a way to bring it to that extremity?*

Whether when the late Kings *Declaration* for Liberty of Conscience gave us hopes of deliverance from an approaching Persecution, the Ministers of *Boston* having agreed with their Congregations to keep a day of Thanksgiving to God for that Mercy, Governour *Andros* did not send for them the

⁵⁹ Increase Mather was so described. The tract was undoubtedly the one whose title is given in our first volume, p. 180. In the text it is said that the sermon was published before Andros's arrival, i.e., before 1686. By Mr. Sibley's admirable bibliographical notes it seems that Cotton Mather was the

authority for stating that the "Brief Discourse" was issued in 1689. This was true of the second or London edition, but, as will be seen, both in our citation (i. 180) and in Sibley's, no date is on the first edition. We may therefore fairly accept the statement in the text as correct.

the night before the day intended, and with many menaces bid them keep the day at their peril, and tell them he would fend Souldiers to guard their Churches and them too? And yet having thus put by the day, to the great scandal and offence of the whole Town, had he not the face to deny afterwards that ever he had forbidden it?

5. *Of the Indian War.*

Whether no *Indian Lands*, nor *Indian Rights* have been Patented away by our late *Patent-mongers*.

Whether to advance this principle, that *the Indians, because Pagans, have no Title to any Lands at all in this Countrey*, be not the way to continue the friendship of the *Indians* to us? and whether after all the hard censures we have undergone, the World will not judge us the juster and more righteous of the two, who own *they have though Pagans, a just Right to all their Lands but those which they have by fair Contract or just Conquest parted with?*

Whether it were no bodies Expectation, that on pretence to pay off a great Army for a long Service, a *vast Tax* must have been Levy'd, which would on purpose have been made intollerable to the people? that hereupon a distrest and distracted part in the Country would have *mutiny'd?* and an advantage would thence be taken by some sort of men to have taken away the Lives and Estates of whom they pleas'd for being concerned in the *Rebellion*, though they had been never so peaceable and innocent? Would not this have been a notable way for *some folks* to thrive in the world?

Whether no Captives of late escap't from the Indians have affirmed, That the Indians say, *Some persons in Boston have encouraged them to go on with the War?*

6. *Of*

6. *Of the Revolution.*

Whether it were not purely in Opposition to the enemies of the Prince of *Orange*, that we seized upon Governour *Andros* and his Accomplices? and not a design hatcht by Jesuits to carry on a Popish Interest among us, as a Pamphlet late disperst, very gravely and politickly informs us?

Whether our late Rulers did not use all imaginable care to keep us ignorant of the Successes of the Prince of *Orange*, which themselves had sufficient information of?

How many *Heaths* has that Riotous and Abject Crew drank to the Confusion of the Prince of *Orange* since eighty nine; and whether that sport is likely to last always unremarkt or unpunisht?

Whether the news of the Princes coming into *England* did not fill *them* with as much visible Consternation as *us* with satisfaction, and whether the Reason of it be not manifest to all of us?

Whether the man that brought the *Princes Declaration* with him into the Country were not Imprisoned for bringing *treasonable* and *seditionous* Papers with him?

Whether some *Riots* that have been committed since the Revolution were not secretly produced, or at least fomented by men of the *same Party* with them that most *suffered* by them?

Whether Governour *Andros*⁶⁰ by stealing out of the Castle where he was a Prisoner, after he had abused the Captain with such assurances of his proving himself a *true Prisoner* did not give an evidence of some peculiar Guilt or *Fear* upon him, as well as *Falseness* in him; and whether the Captain ought to trust him again, or in Civility so far to remember

⁶⁰ This charge against Andros is not found elsewhere, and may well be doubted.

remember him as a Gentleman, as to forget that he is a slippery *Prisoner*.

What would those fellows be at, who are so lavish of their Discourse as to condemn us for *Pirates* only for *taking Pirates*? what party did *Pounds*⁶¹ serve that it must be so criminal to Apprehend him? and who were his Correspondents? and whether it be not very reasonable not only that those men who ventured their Lives so nobly for the Countrey should be commended, but rewarded?

Whether it be not the special Priviledge of *Charlestown*⁶² *Church and Town* to be furnisht with *Deacons* and *Captains* which publish *Remonstrances* against the present Government, and *Berogue* the deserving Gentlemen in whose hands it is? and whether those Fellows (to retort the phrase upon them they so saucily use to the Gentlemen in Authority) could propose any thing by their late Mutinies & Factions, than the putting the Countrey into a *Flame*?

Whether those Men who desire to see the late Power in play again, be not weary of their *own Lands* or *Living*s (if they have any?) or do not want to be Owners of *Other Mens*?

Whether those men who now shew themselves violent against our return in any sort to our *Charters*, are not therein declared Enemies to the glorious designs of the greatest Prince in the World?

Whether it would not be a fine spot of work, when we have given to Sr. *Edmond Andross* and his *Creatures* the affront of dismissing them from the Government, and we every hour look for a Confirmation and approbation from *England* of what we have done, yet to restore them to their former places?

Whether

⁶¹ As to Pounds, see vol. ii. p. 54-55.

⁶² See Charlestown's petition in vol. ii. p. 79.

Whether a strict eye ought not to be kept on those *ridiculous Blades* at *Charlestown*, and those *Mischievous ones* in *Prison*⁶³ who are scattering about the Countrey their scandalous *Pamphlets*, to perswade a thing so pernicious?

Whether such empty trifling *Pamphlets* can *Profelyte* any but the filliest *Buzzards* in the World, and whether we have reason to fear we have *many* such among us?

And since 't is in a late *Pamphlet*⁶⁴ boldly affirmed *that none of the Letters (in our hands) of those lately in Office or Government, manifest any design of ruining the Countrey, or procuring any violence to the Inhabitants*; we shall annex some few *Notes* (among many much worse) out of the *Letters* of but *One* of them, viz. Mr *RANDOLPH* and by this little, let all dis-interested persons judge, whether those who guided the People to this alteration had not some cause.

⁶⁵ *Randolph* to the Earl of ——— June 14. 1682

I humbly beseech your Lordship that I may have consideration for all my Losses, that the heads of this Faction here may be strictly prosecuted and Fined for their Treasons and Misdemeanours, and my Mony paid out of their Fines. I will engage with Five Hundred of His Majesties Guard to drive them out of their Country As for the persons joynd and

⁶³ Palmer's "Impartial Account" was undoubtedly prepared whilst he was a prisoner here.

⁶⁴ I have not been able to find the original of this quotation.

⁶⁵ This letter was addressed to the Earl of Clarendon, and will be found in

full in Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, vol. ii. pp. 275-277, in the edition printed by the Prince Society. As here printed, it consists of extracts only from the long original, ingeniously arranged to make a strong effect.

and concerned in the Faction here, I know but one man who was not himself a Servant or a Servants Son.

⁶⁶ R. to my Lord ——— December 3. 1684

If that great body of People by mis-understanding be once broken and disperst into the Southern Plantations, the French will certainly by degrees swallow up that great Country planted and possess'd by His Majesties Subjects now above these sixty Years, and so at length become Masters of all His Majesties West-India Plantations, which by the benefit and advantage of those many Harbours in that Country may be obtained.

⁶⁷ R. to the B. of ——— June 14. 1682

If His Majesties Laws (which none but Phanaticks question) be of force with us, we could raise a sufficient maintenance for divers Ministers out of the Estates of those whose Treasons have forfeited them to His Majesty.

⁶⁸ R. to the B. of ——— May 29. 1682

In my Attendance on your Lordship, I often press'd that some able Ministers might be appointed to perform the Offices of the Church with us. The main obstacle was, how they should
be

⁶⁶ This extract is from a letter to the Lords, by which I presume is meant the Lords of the Board of Trade, which will be found in the Mather Papers (Mafs. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Ser. viii. 530).

⁶⁷ The original of this letter to the

Lord Bishop of London will be found in Hutchinson's Collection above cited, ii. 279-281.

⁶⁸ This letter, also to the Bishop of London, will be found in full in Hutchinson's Collection, ii. 271-274.

*be maintained? I did formerly and do now propose that a part of the Money sent over hither and pretended to be expended among the Indians, may be ordered to go towards that charge. — As for —*⁶⁹ *he is one of the Faction, a man of mean Extraction, coming over a poor Servant; as most of the Faction were at their first Planting here, but by extraordinary zeal and coufenage, have got them great Estates in Land; so that if His Majesty Fine them sufficiently (and well if they scape so) they can go to work to get more.*

⁷⁰ R. to the A. B. of ——— Octob. 27. 1686

I have some time since humbly represented to your Grace, a necessity of having a Church built in Boston, to receive those of the Church of England; we have at present near four hundred persons who are daily frequenters of our Church, and as many more would come over to us. But some being Trades-men, others of Mechanick Professions, are threatned by the Congregational Men to be Arrested by their Creditors, or to be turned out of their work, if they come to our Church. — I have taken care to inform my self how the Mony sent over hither for the Company of Evangelizing Indians in New England is disposed of; Here are seven perons called Commiffioners or Trustees, who have the sole manage of it. The chief of which are Mr. Dudley our President a man of a base servile and Antimonarchical Principle; Mr. Stoughton of the old Leven; Mr. Richards, a man not to be trusted in publick businefs; Mr. Hinkly, a Rigid Independent, and others like to these. —

I humbly presume to Remind your Grace of your promise
to

⁶⁹ In the original in Hutchinson, this is Capt. Richards. The story was probably false, as shown in the note (159).

⁷⁰ For this letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, see Hutchinson's Col-lection, ii. 294.

to me when in England; that a Commission should be directed to some persons here unconcerned to Audit and report their Accounts of that Mony. — We want good Schoolmasters, none here being allowed or but of ill Principles; The mony now converted unto private or worse Uses, will set up good and publick Schools, and provide a maintenance for our Minister who now lives upon a small Contribution.

⁷¹ R. to Mr. Blathwait. May 21. 1687.

His Excellency has to do with a perverse people. Nothing has been wanting in his Excellency to bring all things to a good posture, both private and publick; He discharges the duty of an Excellent Governour, but these people are Riveted in their way, and I fear nothing but necessity or force will otherwise dispose them.

R. to Povey. May 21. 1687

⁷² *His Excellency tries all ways to bring the people to Quit-Rents.*

⁷³ R. to Mr. Pen, November 9. 1688.

This barbarous people were never civilly treated by the late Government, who made it their business to encroach upon their

⁷¹ This extract is given in the Mather Papers above cited (Mafs. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th Ser. viii. 531). A part of it is also given in Hutchinson's History, i. 354.

printed in Hutchinson's Collection, ii. 296–298.

⁷³ This is given in the Mather Papers already cited; but the qualifying clauses even in the copy there printed were omitted in the preparation of this inflammatory pamphlet.

⁷² This line occurs in a long letter

*their Lands, and by degrees to drive them out of all; That was the Ground and Beginning of the last War. His Excellency has all along taken other Measures with them. — I hear Mr. Mather and such like Men of Antimonarchical principles at home are complaining against me: I confess, if being the Occasion of Subverting their Old Arbitrary Government be a Crime, I must Submit.*⁷⁴

Printed in the year 1689.

⁷⁴ We have already said that Cotton Mather was intimately connected with the preparation of this tract. The proof is as follows. In the sixth volume of Mather manuscripts, now preserved in the Prince Library, will be found (pp. 56-57) abstracts of certain letters from Randolph and Dudley, made by Cotton Mather, and in his handwriting. Undoubtedly he had obtained the originals, and these passed finally to Hutchinson, who printed them in full, as we have mentioned in our foot notes, *ante*. But the interesting fact is that these abstracts by Mather are exactly the ones printed in this tract, except that his copy contains sections herein omitted. And on this Mather copy lines are drawn under such portions as are printed, so as to direct a copyist what to take, or the printer what to use. The inference is inevitable that Cotton Mather furnished directly all these extracts, though he or

some coadjutor selected a part only for publication in the foregoing pamphlet.

As the omissions are very significant, we will edit Cotton Mather's abstracts.

I. R. to the Earl of Clarendon June 14, 1682.

"His Majesties Quo Warranto against the Charter and sending for Thom. Danforth, Sam. Nowell, a late factious preacher and now a Magistrate, Daniel Fisher and Elisha Cook, Deputies, to attend and answer the articles of high misdemeanour I have now exhibited against them in my papers sent Mr. Blathwait, will make that whole Faction tremble." [Then follows the printed section, "I humbly beseech . . . paid out of their Fines."] "If the party were so considerable as to Revolt, upon his Majesties Resolution to settle this plantation, their first Work would bee to call mee to account for Endeavouring

Endeavouring openly the Alteration of their Constitution, which by their Law is Death." [Then the rest of the letter as printed.] "As for all the persons joined and concerned in the Faction here, I know but one man who was not himself a servant or a servant's son."

2. R. to the Lords Dec 3. 1684.

"There are dangerous principles among them, which Mr. Mather maintains and propagates." [Then the rest as printed in the pamphlet.]

3. R to the B. of [London] June 14, 1682.

[Just what is printed.]

4. R to the B. of [London], May 29, 1682.

[Begins as printed six lines through "towards that charge."] Then Mather says ["Story of reconciliation between O. and N. Ch."] "Major Dudley is a great opposer of the Faction against which I have now articulated to his Majesty, who if he finds things resolutely managed, will cringe and bow to any thing. Hee hath his fortunes to make in the World. I give him 2 or 3 lines to recommend him to your Lordship's favour so far as hee may be serviceable to your Design." [Then as printed, from "As for Capt. Richards, hee is one of the faction." . . . through "work to gett more."] "As for Richards hee ought to be kept very safe till all things tending to the Quiet and Regulation of this Government be perfectly settled." "Wee have in Boston one Mr. Willard, Brother to Major Dudley." "Hee is a moderate man and baptizes those who are refused by other churches, for which hee is hated." "I preft for able and sober ministers, and wee will contribute largely to their maintenance; but one thing will mainly

help, when no marriages hereafter shall be allowed Lawful, but such as are made by the members of the Church of England."

5. R. to the A. B. of [Canterbury.] Oct. 27, 1686.

[Begins as in print, through "Mr. Hinkley, a Rigid Independent, and others like to these."] "The poor Indians (those who are called Ministers) come and complain to Mr. Ratcliff, our Minister, that they have nothing allowed them. Wee have spoken to the Commissioners to have some allowance for them. All wee can get is the promise of a coarse coat against Winter, and they would not suffer Aaron, an Indian preacher who can read English very well, to have a Bible with the Common Prayer in it, but took it away from him." [Then the rest as printed, through "a small contribution."] and are yett forced to meet in the Town House." "Story of the Old Ch. Bell."

6. R. to Blathwait, May 21. 1687.

[Just as printed.]

7. R to Povey, May 21. 1687.

[The line as printed.] "A little time will try what our new Judges, Dudley and Stoughton will say when either Indian purchases or grants from the General Court are questioned before them." "Mr. Mafon is very acceptable to his Excellency and to many of us. Moodey is out of humour; I believe hee will be obliged to Leave this Town."

8. R. to Mr. Pen. Nov. 9. 1688.

[As printed four lines, through "other measures with them."] "I hope the proclamation

proclamation and the Indians' confidence in the Governor's favour to such as shall submit, may putt a stop to their present Rage." [Then as printed, except the last clause is "subverting their arbitrary government (*and thereby putting a stop to the persecuting spirit raging every where in this country*) bee a crime, I must submit." The clause in italics was omitted in the pamphlet.]

9 and 10. Copies are given of two letters from Dudley to Randolph. These were not printed in the pamphlet, and are as follows : —

9. D. to R. Dec. 1, 1684.

I wrote you my willingness to sustain some place in the Regulation.

You will bee very easily capable to recommend your best Friends, who will bee such also as may bee acceptable to the Body of this people.

Let not particular persons bee shutt up from Redress of Ill Issues here.

I would bee glad that the *Placita coronæ* might bee shut up, except the Treasonable Libel, which I can gett no copy of.

Here is a strange Spirit in some of the people, towards Mr. St.[oughton] and Bu.[llivant] but beyond all account against my self, — of which, if the New-Settlement should take no notice, however they may bee disappointed, they will fling up their caps for joy, that wee are neglected.

If his Majesty should at first betruff the Government wholly to persons among us, I am sure the charge would be the less, and I beleieve the service

performed to good satisfaction, both to His Majesty and people.

10. D. to R. June 7, 1684.

I suppose, notwithstanding all the Delays you complain of, if Mr. Atturney General please, *Trinity Term* may end His Majesties suit, and make Way for his perfect Satisfaction. When I may expect to satisfy myself.

I have since sometimes Drank your Health at my Dame Taylor's.

Wee well know that your Influence and Industry may prevail much. Sir, Wee drink your Health, and are

Your most humble Servants

J. D.

THADDEUS MACKARTY.

11. R. to the Lord Treafurer. Aug. 23, 1686.

[Not printed in the pamphlet. The extract is as follows : "Liberty of Conscience will much obstruct the Settlement of this Place."

"The Commission sent hither was but Temporary and served only to unhinge the Commonwealth, which for many years was usurped and managed by a Faction."

We may conclude, then, that the author of the tract, taking Cotton Mather's abstract as his basis, carefully struck out such of Randolph's charges as were too true, or that gave ground for reflections upon the leaders of the popular party. Especially is this the case in regard to Dudley; and herein may yet be found a clue to the authorship of the pamphlet.



Edward Randolph.

⁷⁵ IN regard to the family and antecedents of Edward Randolph, little is known. I am indebted to Charles W. Tuttle, Esq., for the information that Edward was the son of Edmund Randolph,^a of Canterbury, co. Kent, Doctor of Physic, by Deborah, daughter of Giles Master, of Canterbury. Edward married Jane Gibbon, of Westcliff, co. Kent, whose brother, Richard Gibbon, M.D., married Anne Tufton, sister to Robert Mafon (Tufton) and granddaughter of Capt. John Mafon, of Colonial fame. From letters dated in 1684, from Randolph, at Whitehall, to Shrimpton, at Boston (Mafs. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th Ser. viii. 524-526), it seems that Randolph had daughters, Betty, Mary, and Jane, then living at Boston, and that probably his wife was dead or certainly not residing here. He also mentions a brother "sent over to succeed my brother Gyls," *i. e.*, Giles. He also mentions "brother Allen." So, in the same volume (p. 102), Mather says, "belike the Jew's name that carried the letter, was either Edward or Bernard^b Randolph." Also, "that one of the Randolphs, being detected of such villany" (forgery), "is lately fled to save his ears."

According to Randolph's own story, he first landed here June 10th, 1676, and arrived back September 10th of the same year. December 7th, 1679, he made a second voyage hither, arriving at New York, and went back to England in January, 1680. December 17th, 1681, he arrived at Boston, after a third voyage, and May 28th, 1683, he arrived in England. July 20th, 1683, after a fourth voyage, he landed at Boston, returning December 14th following. January 20th, 1685-86, he embarked on a fifth voyage, and remained here till Andros's overthrow.

It

^a It seems by Notes and Queries, 4th Ser. vi. 74, that in 1571, Thomas Randolph, of Badlesmere, co. Kent, son of Avery and Anne (Gainsford) Randolph, had confirmed to him the arms of Sir John Randolph, viz., "Gules, on a cross argent, five mullets sable," quartering the arms of Eynham and Stokes. Possibly this is the same family.

^b In Allibone, we find that a Bernard Randolph was the author of two pamphlets, printed in 1686 and 1687, about the Islands in the Grecian Archipelago and the Morea.

It seems, however, from a note to Hutchinſon (Hiſt. i. 329), that “ Randolph in a representation of his ſervices to the committee of Council, ſays that he had made eight voyages to New England in nine years.” The date is not given. But in his report to the Lords of the Committee for Trade (printed herein), date May 29, 1689, he mentions thoſe who are his enemies “ for my faithfull ſervices to the Crowne for fourteen yeares in this country.” This would make his firſt viſit hither as early as 1675. The queſtion is one of ſome importance, ſince our hiſtorians generally undervalue Randolph’s firſt report on the ground that he had only been four months in the country. If he had been here before 1676, his opinions are entitled to more weight.

The part taken by Randolph in Androſ’s adminiſtration is generally ſhown by the papers already printed. After the Revolution, Randolph was ſent back to England with Androſ, and, like him, eſcaped all puniſhment.

From Letters in the fourth volume of the New York documents, it ſeems that, in 1697–98, Randolph was at New York, acting under inſtructions from the Commiſſioners of Cuſtoms; that he had been to Maryland and Pennſylvania, and was to go to Carolina, Bermuda, and the Bahamas. His office was apparently that of Surveyor-General of the Cuſtoms on the Continent of America. It alſo ſeems (R. I. Rec. iii. 339) that he came to Boſton from New York.

Of Randolph’s later career, I find nothing, except Cotton Mather’s ſpiteful note, written in 1724 (*ante*, p. 130), to the effect that he died in Virginia, with only two or three negroes to carry him to his grave.

It is to be noted that there was a famous family of Randolphs then in Virginia (Meade’s Old Families of Virginia, i. 138), the head of which was William Randolph, of Turkey Iſland. He was a nephew of Thomas Randolph, the poet, who was born in 1605, at Badby, County Northampton, and died in 1634.

The following liſt of papers, already in print, relating to Randolph, may prove of ſervice : —

1676.	Sept. 20.	} Randolph’s Report on the Colonies .	Hutch. Coll. ii. 210.
	Oct. 12.		
1678.	July 9.	Randolph’s inſtructions from Commiſſioners	Coll. 3d S. vii. 129.
1680.		Randolph’s inſtructions againſt the Boſtoneers	Hutch. Coll. ii. 264.
1680–1.	Feb. 15.	Randolph againſt Gen. Ct. of Maſs. .	Hutch. Coll. ii. 266.
1682.	May 29.	Randolph’s Letter to Bp. of London .	Hutch. Coll. ii. 271.
			1682.

1682.	June 14.	Randolph's Letter to E. of Clarendon	Hutch. Coll. ii. 275.
	July 14.	Randolph's Letter to Bp. of London .	Hutch. Coll. ii. 279.
1683.	Dec. 13.	Randolph's Letter to I. Mather . .	Coll. 4th S. viii. 524.
1684.	July 18.	Randolph's Letter to S. Shrimpton .	Coll. 4th S. viii. 524.
	21.	Randolph's Letter to S. Shrimpton .	Coll. 4th S. viii. 525.
	Sept. 4.	Randolph's Letter to S. Bradstreet .	Coll. 4th S. viii. 527.
	Dec. 3.	Randolph's Letter to Lords of Treaf- ury	Coll. 4th S. viii. 530.
	8.	Randolph's Letter from Bradstreet .	Coll. 4th S. viii. 527.
1684-5.	Feb. 9.	Randolph's Letter to Dudley . . .	Hutch. Coll. ii. 283.
1685.	July 7.	Randolph's Report and Privy Coun- cil's Report	N. Y. Doc. iii. 362.
		Randolph's Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury	Hutch. Coll. ii. 291.
	Aug. 3.	Randolph's Proposals about Quo Warranto	R. I. Rec. iii. 177.
	18.	Randolph's Proposals about Quo Warranto	R. I. Rec. iii. 178.
		Randolph's Articles against R. I. .	R. I. Rec. iii. 175.
	Sept. 21.	Randolph's Commission	Coll. 3d S. vii. 161.
1686.	May 27.	Randolph's Letter to Gov. Treat. .	Conn. Rec. iii. 352.
	July 28.	Randolph's Letter to Commissioners .	Hutch. Coll. ii. 285.
		Randolph's Letter to W. Blathwayt .	Hutch. Coll. ii. 288.
	Aug. 23.	Randolph's Letter to Lord Treasurer Randolph's Letter to Board of Trade	Coll. 3d S. vii. 154.
	Oct. 27.	Randolph's Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury	R. I. Rec. iii. 205.
	Dec. 23.	Randolph's Letter to Gov. Treat. .	Hutch. Coll. ii. 294.
1687.	May 21.	Randolph's Letter to Povey . . .	Conn. Rec. iii. 375.
		Randolph's Letter to Blathwayt . .	Hutch. Coll. ii. 297.
1687-8.	Jan. 24.	Randolph's Letter to Povey . . .	Coll. 4th S. viii. 531.
	Mch. 10.	Randolph's Letter from Blathwayt .	Hutch. Coll. ii. 299.
	18.	Randolph's Letter from Povey . .	Hutch. Coll. ii. 301.
1688.	June 21.	Randolph's Letter to Povey . . .	Hutch. Coll. ii. 303.
	Oct. 8.	Randolph's Letter to Lords of Trade	Hutch. Coll. ii. 304.
	Nov. 9.	Randolph's Letter to Pen	N. Y. Doc. iii. 567.
1689.	May 16.	Randolph's Letter to Gov. of Barba- dos	Coll. 4th S. viii. 531.
	29.	Randolph's Letter to Lords of Trade	Hutch. Coll. ii. 314.
	Nov. 25.	Randolph's Letter to Elifha Cooke .	N. Y. Doc. iii. 578.
	Dec. 28.	Randolph's Letter to Brockholst .	Hutch. Coll. ii. 318.
1698.	April 26.	Randolph's Letter to Lords of Trade	N. Y. Doc. iii. 664.
	May 16.	Randolph's Letter to Lords of Trade	N. Y. Doc. iv. 300.
	30.	Randolph's Letter to Lords of Trade	N. Y. Doc. iv. 311.
			R. I. Rec. iii. 339.



[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxvii. p. 220.]

A short Narrative of my proceedings and
several Voyages to and from N. England to Whitehall
during the time of manneaging his Majesties affaires in
N. England, humbly presented by Edward Randolph.

1675.
Mar. 20.



RECEIVED his Majesties Letters to the
Governor and Company of the Massachusetts
Bay in New England to attend at Whitehall
and answer the Complaints brought against
them by Mr Mason and Mr Gorges

1676.
June 10.

I arrived in N. England and delivered his
Majesties Letters to the Governour and Council then sitting
at Boston.

July 30.
Sept. 10.

I Imbarked myself for England.

I Landed at Dover and presented the Right Honorable
the Lords of the Committee for Trade, with a Narration of
the Estate of their Country and Government; and Exhibited
Articles of high Misdemeanour against the Governour and
Company.

1678.
Dec. 20.

Two Agents arrived in England from Boston to make
their defence. I attended two years and made good my
Charge against the Governour and Company at the Council
Chamber. The Agents confess the fact, pray his Majesties
pardon, and acknowledge his Majesties Right to the Govern-
ment of the Province of N. Hampshire.

The

The Boston Agents have leave to returne and New Agents to be sent with full power.

1679.
Sept. 10.

I was commanded to go for N. England by way of N. York to Carry over his Majesties Commission of Government directed to a President and Council in New Hampshire.

Oct. 23.

I shipp'd all my goods and Household stufte of a considerable value upon a vessell belonging to N. England, and are all lost at sea together with his late Majesties picture and Royal Armes sent to N. Hampshire.

— 29.

I arrived at N. York and traveled by land from thence to New Hampshire in the winter, nigh four hundred miles.

Dec. 7.

I arrived at N. Hampshire and after great Opposition made by the Bostoners, settled the Government in that Province.

— 27.

His Majesties Government declared and owned in the Province of New Hampshire.

Jan. 15.

I returned from N. Hampshire to Boston, Impowered by the Commissioners of his Majesties Customs to prevent the Irregular Trade. I seized several of their Vessels with their Loading.

— 28.

His Majesties Authority and the Acts of Trade disowned openly in their Courts, and I was cast in all those Causes and damages given against his Majesty.

1680.

Having complained hereof I returned to England and obtained his Majesties Letters Pattents to be Collector of his Majesties Customs in New England.

Mar. 15.

The Right Honorable the Lords of the Committee for Trade report to his Majesty that in consideration of my good Service, I ought to have a hundred pounds annually added to my former salary of one hundred pounds, but his Majesties service requiring my speedy Returne to N. England, I was dispatched away and that Addition not settled.

1681.
May 20.

I arrived again at Boston in N. England with his Majesties Commission appointing me Collector &c, but that Commission

Dec. 17.

fion

sion is opposed being looked upon as an Encroachment on their Charter.

Mar. 10. A Law revived by the Assembly to try me for my life and for acting by his Majesties Commission before it was allowed by them.

1682. His Majesties Commission not allowed to be read openly in Courts. My Deputies and under officers Imprisoned for acting by virtue of his Majesties Commission.

Aug. 20. Other Agents from Boston arrived in England.

Sept. 20. Boston Agents appearing are directed to procure larger Powers.

Dec. 20. I received Orders from the Lords of the Committee to Returne to England to prosecute a Quo Warranto against the Boston Charter

1683.
May 28. I arrived in England.

June 13. I was ordered to attend Mr Attorney General with proofs of the Charge against the Boston Government.

July 20. I arrived in N. England, served the Quo Warranto, published and dispersed two hundred of his Majesties declarations.

Dec. 14. I Imbarked myself for England, had a dangerous Voyage. The vessell wrecked at sea, both her sides carried away in a storme, and all my goods lost.

Feb. 14. I arrived at Plymouth and was commanded to attend and prosecute the Boston Charter

1684.
Oct. 23. Judgment was entred up for his Majestie against the Boston Charter.

Dec. 20. I was ordered to prepare Articles against the two Colonies of Rhode Island and Connetticott.

1685.
July 15. The Attorney Generall ordered to Issue out Writs of Quo Warranto against the Colony of Rhode Island, Connetticott

ticott &c and against the feveral Proprietors of Maryland, Pensilvania and East and West Jersey

I was directed to serve the Quo Warranto upon my Lord Baltimore, Proprietor of Maryland, and the Proprietors of East and West Jersey, and to serve two writs upon the Colonies of R. Island and Connetticott, all which I duly performed. Aug. 15.

I and my family Imbarked upon the Rose friggot for N. England. Jan. 20.

I arrived at Boston with his Majesties Commission of Government to a President and Council. 1686.
May 14.

Then the Colony of Massachusets Bay, the Province of New Hampshire and Maine are brought under his Majesties Government.

I served the writ of Quo Warranto upon the Governour and Company of Rhode Island. May 30.

I made a second journey to Rhode Island to receive the General Court's answer. June 12.

I served the writ of Quo Warranto upon the Governour and Company of Connetticott, above one hundred and fifty miles distant from Boston. July 12.

The Governour and Company of Rhode Island humbly submit to his Majestie, and are by his Majesties Special Order to his Excellency Sir Edmund Andros, Knt., united to this Government

I received a second writ of Quo Warranto against Connetticott and was ordered to serve it. Dec. 28.

A second writt upon the government of Connetticott is served upon the Government. They make their humble submission of themselves and government to his Majestie. Dec. 30.

His Excellency goes to Hartford, the cheife Town in Connetticott and erects his Majesties Government there, So that now the feveral Colonies are united under his Majesties Immediate Government and authority, viz^t. The Massachusets, 1687.
Oct. 25.

fets, New Plymouth, Conneticott, Rhode Island, and the Provinces of N. Hampshire, Maine and Pemaquid and the Kings Province, lying above seven hundred miles in length and above seven hundred miles upon the western Sea.

[Mafs. Archives, Political, vol. cvi. p. 212.]

BOSTON, June y^e 23^d, 1676

76 HON^d SIR,



HE directions of his Ma^{ties} letter of March y^e 20th 1675-6 to Our Trusty and well beloved the Govern^r and Magistrates of our towne of Boston in New England, presuppofeth a powre in them to give a fufficient anfwere to the contents thereof; and the better to prevent frustrating or evading the true intent of this his Ma^{ties} message to you, hee hath been Graciously pleased to allott a month's tyme for the due and punctual perfecting your anfwere (for which I am ordered foe long and not further to attend.) And if a Generall Court bee more proper for dispatching matters of foe weighty concerne be pleased to assemble that. In the meane tyme according to my instructions I continue to require an anfwere to his Ma^{ties} letter to bee delivered to me at or before the expiration of the tyme limited. beseeching you to refer your preliminary discourfing my instructions and my mesage thereof to

⁷⁶ Randolph has given a full and interesting account of his reception by the authorities here, in a letter printed in Hutchinson's Collection, ii. 240-251.

This letter is referred to (p. 244) as a "memorial given in to the Governour."

to his Ma^{tie} and Council to whom onely I stand accountable,
and am Sir,

Your humble serv^t

ED. RANDOLPH.

Be pleased to give me your
Anfwere in writing p. first opportunity
E. R.

Endorfed to Hon John Leverett, Gov^r
rec^d June 23, 4 o'clock

[Mafs. Archives, Political, vol. cvi. p. 213.]

BOSTON July y^e 6, 1676.

GEN^r



OURS of the 26th of June last is received directed
to E. R. etc. in which you are pleased to acquaint
me that such was your case, not to be justly accused
of neglect in any kind — that you took the first
opportunity to send your anfwere to his Ma^{ties} letter, which
is (as I suppose) dispatched for England by a M^r of a shipp.
That is *ὑστερον προτερον*⁷⁷ and denotes some deviation from his
Ma^{ties} methods of transacting this affair with you, who was
graciously pleased to committ both His original letters to
you directed and duplicate (to bee managed by the M^r of the
ship in case of my failer at sea) to my charge and care. But
you send your original (which is not expected till my returne)
by the master of a ship (busines preventing my soe speedy
returne and offer a duplicate to me his Ma^{ties} expresse.

I have

⁷⁷ "Husteron Proteron," the last the first.

I have other matters under my charge also for his Ma^{ties} especiall service which I am not to communicate nor can be dispatched in less than a month. Tho by me limited for my demanding and attending for your answer, it was not expected upon his Ma^{ties} Gracious condiscention of 6 months tyme for your Agents appearance at White Hall that I should be posted away for England after the tediousness of a ten weekes passage, and soe by such a rapid motion be necessitated to leave my other weightier affaires uneffected, or else to have that his Ma^{tie} recommended to my care, transmitted by another hand.

Some things in your letter seem to have a particular reflection on my carriage and behaviour which charity dictates tastely to pretermitt. I did believe my obedience to a Supream Authority would not render me obnoxious to its inf[erior] and deriviative party, and make me liable to the censure of misdemeanour or be guilty of slighting or irregularly imposing any Authority established [by his] Ma^{ty}. If so I beg your pardon and desire your inspection of this matter may be referred to his Majesty, whose subjects we all are, though in a different relation.

However in my vindication give me leave to say, that when I first attended this Counsel after Mr Rawson had read his Majesties Letter (and not the Governor as is hinted in your Letter as . . . petitions. I then acquainted the Councill that they had a months tyme to returne their answer, and that I was ordered to reconvey it; the 15th following I expressed myselfe in Councill to the same purpose. And the day following, 4 dayes before the ship sayled for England I waited on the Governor for the Councill's Answer. But hee told me it was to accompany an answer of his to a letter from Sir Joseph Williamson brought by the master of the same ship I failed on. Soe that by this it appears that my acquiescence (if any) is only passive. My
remisnes

remifnes as well as exceffe in performance of any of his Majesties commands renders me equally difobedient, therefore I ftrictly keep to his Majesties orders without any wilful aberation.

And now fince there is fuch a Cogency, I once more beg your pardon. And againe in obedience to his Majesties Letter which expreffly faith (that Ed. Randolph the Councell to hear the fame read there; hee being by us *appointed* to bring back the answer, and the words of the Generall instructions likewise enioine you, fhall then call for an answer unto thefe Our Letter, from the faid Governor and Magiftrates, and demand the fame within a month after the delivery of Our Letters, which anfwear when you have received it you fhall bring back to Us with what convenient fpeed you can) I doe demand your answer to his Majesties faid letter, and foe humbly take my leave.

Gentlemen, I am not confcious to my felfe of any difrefpectfull or unfutable expreffion dropped verbally or by my pen. Yet fince you are pleas'd to connive at what you feem to apprehend extravagant, I return you my hearty thanks; as alfo for your friendly advife without which I fhould have been and ftill fhall be carefull to demeane myfelf according to the importance of my charge, and that refpect due to you as his Majesties minifters.

I am your moft humble and obedient fervant

ED. RANDOLPH

I am returning for England
upon Mr. Walley.

[Mafs. Archives, Political, vol. cvi. p. 246.]

WHITEHALL, the 22 October 1681.

⁷⁸ SIR,

HAVE received your two Letters with the enclosed to my Lord Culpepper and am glad you are safely gott on ship board, which I reckon halfe the way to Boston: as I cease not to persue you at all times with business you will more easily take upon you the trouble of this letter to the Massatufetts, since it is chiefly intended to recommend you to that people, with what success I cannot tell. It is exceeding soft and gentle and meddles with nothing but the sending Agents. but I have reason to hope that things will goe never the less well, for this mild way of proceeding, there being but one thing wanting to sett all right.

I heartily wish you and your family may have a prosperous Voyage and a kind welcome at Boston where you have but one rock to avoid which you ought to be aware of, I mean your letting them come within you after which they will easily give you the Cornish Hugg.

Pray spare me not with your letters since I am really Sir your most faithful servant.

WILLIAM BLATHWAYTES

Pray deliver the enclosed

⁷⁸ *Indexed* as B. to Randolph; probably so endorsed on the paper which is now pasted in a volume.

[Mafs. Archives, Political, vol. cvi. p. 263.]

BOSTON, June 23, 1682



BEING upon the Change in Boston heard Lef^t Dan. Turel speaking to Mr Edw. Randolph — f^d hee Cap^t Hutchinson why doe you not speke to him? f^d Randolph Replyed, I had as leav speke to him as to any man eliv, if it fall in my way. I looking about f^d w^{ts} y^e matter. Mr Randolph answered you Rated me 13/4 w^{ch} I p^d to yo^r Deputy. I asked w^t Deputy? Lef^t Turel f^d y^e Constables Deputy, Tho. Smiths deputy was answered. I Replyed you did well. Mr Randolph f^d, I intende to rec. it back again, for you ought not to Rate me. I answered we had as much Reson, or might as well demand it as you pay it He said again I intend to have it returned. I replyed you will be wiser when you have it (or must be wiser first). He said though you are Longer you may find them y^t are wiser. I f^d like enuf. S^d Randolph said, 7 men may cut a mans purce on y^e high way. I replyed such a knave as you may cheat 20 men. He said who are you. I said, a man. he said, when you have your buf cote on. I replyed as good as you with your forde on. He said You are no Commiissioner here. I said, I have as good a Commiission as you, my staf is as good a Commiission as your sworde. He said wold I had you in place where I wold try it. I replied, Try now

On which he went a way and left me, we having no more words all Change time and I saw no more of him. This is the whole discourse y^t passed betwixt us as neer as I can remember and I think word for word, as witnes my hand, Fryday about one a Clock, June 23, 1682.

ELISHA HUTCHINSON.

[Mafs. Archives, Ufurpation, vol. cxxvi. p. 53.]

SIR,



WE have yours of the 30th of June last advising us of your seizure of two small Vessells, viz, the Swallow, Joshua West, master, and the Success, Joshua Glover, master, the latter of which Belongs to Scotland and hath been an old Transgressor: soe that wee hope there will be noe failure in your Part in the Effectual Profecution thereof, which wee shall Owne as very good Service. And because you Informe us that the Pinke Success was Loaden mostly with Scotch goods for which he produced his Cocquetts, wee desire you to send the same to us by the first Vessell bound hither, whereby wee may probably detect some of our Officers, whome wee have suspected to be guilty of giving out Counterfeit Cocquetts and other Dispatches to the Prejudice of his Ma^{ty} Duties. We shall expect to heare from you by all convenient Opportunitys, and be ready to give you all Countenance and assistance in the discharge of your Duty. We rest

Your Loving friends

Custom H^o. London
7 Aug. 1686.
Duplicate

SAM. CLARKE
JO. WERDEN.
J. BUTLER.

CH. CHEYNE
BUCKWORTH

Mr. Randolph, New England.

[N. Y. Historical Documents, edited by J. R. Brodhead, Esq., vol. iii. p. 578.]

Mr. Randolph to the Lords of Trade.

*To the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade
& Foreign Plantacôns.*

A short narrative of the present unfettled state of His Ma^{ty}s territory and dominion of New England, and of the imminent danger of its being overrun by the French Forces in Cannada, if not timely prevented: humbly presented by Edward Randolph.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R LORDSHIPS.

UPON the eighteenth day of Aprill last the people of this country being prepossessed with strange feares and jealoufyes against S^r Edmund Andros Gov^r and some of the members of the Council, took armes, and in a short time made themselves masters of the fort castle and Rose frigott. They seized upon the Gov^r and committed him to strict guard in the Fort, some they sent to the Castle, and imprisoned me and others in the common goale in Boston. The reasons of their suddain proceedings are published in their printed papers herewith humbly transmitted N^o 1. 2.

Since which much time hath bin spent in consulting with the mobile what modell of government to erect, as by their papers N^o 3. 4. But your Lord^{ps} will finde by their paper N^o 5. that they intend to reassume and act according to the rules of their former Charter

My

My Lords. There were some persons inhabitants of Boston attending last yeare at Whitehall⁷⁹ who under pretence of grievances and hardships put upon them by the Govern^r, laboured by all meanes to sett aside the government as it was then established, and to obtaine confirmacôn of their former Charter from the late King James, and had so farr insinuated themselves into the good opinion of Father Peters and S^r Thomas Powis late Attorney Gen^l, that by the assistance of M^r Brent of the Temple, their solicitor, they obtained a report from Sir Thomas Powys to the then Lords of the Committee for Trade, in their favour, that their former Charter was illegally vacated; a duplicate whereof they transmitted to their party in Boston, with assurance of obtaining a Charter with larger power; and they, in confidence of their Agents good succeffe and impatient of further delays, revolted, and thereby anticipated by force that favour they would not tarry to receive from England.

About the yeare One Thousand Six Hundred Seventy Eight it was made apparent to the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade by the opinion of S^r Will^m Jones and S^r Francis Winington then Attorney and Solicitor Gen^l, that the severall articles of high misdemeavour objected against the Govern^r & Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England for their maleadministracôn, were a sufficient ground (if proved) for his Matye to proceed against their Charter by law; some of which are as follows, viz^t—Coining money without His Ma^{ty}'s permission;—Trading contrary to y^e Acts of Navigacôn, whereby His Ma^{ty}'s revenue was greatly impaired (as was made appeare by the
peticon

⁷⁹ Reverend Increase Mather was sent to England in April, 1688, as agent for the province of Massachusetts. He embarked at night and in disguise, to avoid the service of a writ which Randolph had taken out against him.

Samuel Nowel, Elisha Hutchinson, and Richard Wharton united with him in London (Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, i. 366, 367; Chalmers's Political Annals, 467).—J. R. B.

peticôn of severall eminent Merchants of London presented to His Mat^y in Council,) Not allowing those or any other Acts of Parliament to be in force with them unless soe declared in their Gen^l Assembly; — Denying appeales from their Courts to England; — laying Customes upon the goods of His Ma^{ties} subjects (not freemen of the colony) tho' imported directly from England; — And for prosecuting by fines, imprisonment, whipping, banishment & putting to death, His Ma^{ties} subjects for matters in religion. All which were confessed by their Agents in their petition to His Ma^y during their attendance at Court to answer the complaints of M^r Mason and M^r Gorge for invadeing their Provinces of New Hampshire and Maine in New England. Whereupon S^r Robert Sawyer then Attorney Gen^l was ordered by the Lords of the Committee for Trade to bring a Writt of Quo Warranto against their Charter, which for those severall offences and alsoe for refusing to submit to such a regulacôn in the management of their government so as all His Ma^{ties} subjects might finde equall justice amongst them; and upon their refusing alsoe to plead (tho' they had all favour and time allowed them to make their defence) was vacated, and a commissiôn granted to severall gentlemen, members of their late Council, to exercise government in that colony; of w^{ch} number was M^r Bradstreet (present pretended Govern^r), who refused, and the others with great difficulty accepted thereof, as appeares by the printed paper N^o 6.

About the yeare one thousand six hundred eighty five the French of Cañada encroached upon the lands of the subjects of the Crowne of England, building forts upon the heads of their great Rivers, & extending their bounds, disturbed the inhabitants, and layd a clayme to those lands which for many yeares had belonged to the English; and under pretence of a right to the sole fishery between the degrees of forty three and forty six North latitude, they seized eight
New

New England ketches loaden with fish off the coast of Nova Scotia, took away all their fish, treated the masters most barbarously and afterwards carryed them and most of the ketches to Rochell, where they were a long time imprisoned. The masters came afterwards from thence to New England. I then assisted them in their applicacôn to the Earle of Sunderland and to the Lord Preston, then Embassador in France; but his Lordship, though he pressed the matter, could obtaine noe redresse. Whereupon it was advised and ordered in Council that the three small Colonyes of Connecticott New Plymouth and Rhode Island, not able to make any defence against the French, together with the Provinces of New Hampshire and Maine, should be united and made one entire government, the better to defend themselves against invasion. And accordingly a commissiion was directed to S^r Edmund Andros with instruccions to take them all under his care, which he accordingly accepted and they in a short time submitted thereunto.

The French about Canada intending to engrosse the whole beaver trade to themselves, did in the time of peace surprize about twenty seven of the chiefe Captains belonging to the Five Nations of the Indians (traders with the towne of Albany in the government of New Yorke) who had subjected themselves to the Crowne of England many yeares agoe & have bin accounted subjects and p^rected both by the Dutch and English Government att New Yorke. And accordingly Coll. Dongan received orders from England to assist and support these Five Nations of Indians against the French; and certainly they had destroyed and outed the French out of Canada, had not Coll. Dongan, upon the insinuation of a French Jesuite, kept the Indians (much against their inclinacôns) in Albany, maintained at the Kings charge for severall weeks; in which time the French Govern^r supplied his forts with all sorts of stores and p^rvisions for one
yeare

yeare in four hundred birch canoes, which would have otherwise fallen into the hands of our Indians, and the forts alsoe not longer able for want of supplies to hold out. Coll. Dongan raised men in New Yorke, which he kept for some time at Albany, and has charged for that expedition about six thousand four hundred pounds, as by his originall account appeares, of which I have something (when in England) to lay before your Lordships. The French by their artifices obtain'd at our Court a treaty of trade and commerce, betweene the subjects of the two Crowns, in the yeare 1688. which tho' very disadvantageous to the English in those parts of America, yet since the Provinces of New Yorke and the Jerseys have bin united to New England under the governm^t of S^r Edmund Andros, that treaty has bin duly observed, both by our Indians and English, but not generally by the French. They very much court the Five Nations of Indians to submit to the government of Canada, and by their Jesuites strangely allure them with their beades crucifixes and little painted Images, gaining many new converts. One Monsieur Town-to⁸⁰ a French officer from Canada has enlarged their pretensions

⁸⁰ Henry de Tonti was the son of Governor Tonti, of Gayette, Naples, who, after the revolution in that kingdom, removed with his family to France. We learn from his petition published in Sparks's American Biography, xi. 203, that he entered the army as a cadet, in which capacity he was employed in the years 1668 and 1669; he afterwards served as a midshipman four years, and made seven campaigns, four on board ships of war and three in galleys. While at Messina, he was made captain-lieutenant. When the enemy attacked the post of Libisso, his right hand was shot away by a grenade, and he was taken prisoner and conducted to Metasse, where he was detained six

months, and then exchanged. He next returned to Sicily, and made a campaign as volunteer in the galleys; and when the troops were discharged at the peace, he repaired to court, where he was fortunate in gaining the protection of the Prince de Conti, who recommended him to La Salle, with whom he went to Canada in 1678. He accompanied this celebrated adventurer to the Illinois country, where he erected Fort Creve-cour, and thence proceeded with him, in 1682, in his famous exploration of the Mississippi River. At the termination of these discoveries, he remained, in 1683, commandant of Fort St. Louis (Peoria, Illinois), where, in 1684, he repulsed an attack made by a party of two hundred Iroquois.

pretensions and settled a Fort and garrison upon the Lakes on the back side of Carolina. During this cessation upon the treaty of peace and commerce, they are not idle, but attempting upon the English interest in these parts of the world.

About August last, the time Sr Edmund Andros went to take possession of the government at New Yorke, eleven French Indians, killed five of our Indians neere the towne of Springfield and soon after five English at the towne of Northfield upon Connecticut River; they fled to Canada, and

Iroquois. He visited Quebec, in the course of the same year, by orders of Governor De la Barre; and, having returned to Illinois as captain of foot and Governor of Fort St. Louis, he set out again in the beginning of 1686 (*Charlevoix*, ii. 259, says, 1685) for the mouth of the Mississippi, in search of his chief, La Salle, who was expected to reach that quarter by sea. His search proving unsuccessful, he returned, and in 1687 brought down a party of Illinois to the aid of Denonville in his attack on the Senecas, where he commanded a company of Canadians, and forced the enemy's ambuscade. In 1689 he departed for Texas, in search of the remains of La Salle's people; but, having been deserted by his men, he was obliged to relinquish his design when within seven days' march of the Spaniards. He again visited the mouth of the Mississippi in 1700, and aided Iberville in erecting a fort in that quarter, where he was employed several years afterwards. Of the date of his death, we have not been able to find any record. He was a man of great nerve and bravery, and exercised a powerful influence in the western country, where he was known by the soubriquet of "*Bras de fer*," or the "Iron Hand,"

from a knob of that metal which he carried, covered with leather, as a substitute for the hand he had lost. With this weapon he would dash into the centre of an Indian *melée*, and at a blow break the head that came in contact with it. Next to La Salle, he contributed the most to the exploration and knowledge of the Mississippi valley. A 12mo volume has been published, entitled "*Dernières Decouvertes dans l'Amerique Septentrionale de M. de La Sale; mises au jour par M. le Chevalier Tonti, Gouverneur du Fort Saint Louis aux Illinois, Paris, 1697*;" it was reprinted in Amsterdam in 1720, and in the 5th volume of the "*Recueil de Voyages au Nord*," under the title of "*Relation de la Louisianne et du Mississipi, par le Chevalier de Tonti, Gouverneur du Fort Saint Louis aux Illinois*;" and in English as, "*An Account of M. De La Salle's Last Expedition and Discoveries in North America; presented to the French King, and published by Chevalier Tonti, Governour of Fort Saint Louis, in the Province of Illinois. Made English from the Paris original. London, 1698*." *Charlevoix*, however, says that M. De Tonti disavowed the publication. — J. R. B.

and tho' knowne by name and demanded by S^r Edmund Andros, yet Marque d'Nonville the French Governour refused to furrander them. Soon after the Indians to the Eastward upon a misunderstanding betwixt them and the English, fell upon the English townes in the Province of Maine, destroying their corne and cattle, burnt their houses, killed some and took others of the inhabitants prisoners; having with them a French priest in their councils.

Upon the Governo^{rs} returne from Albany to Boston (where the Five Nations of Indians exprefs'd great duty and obedience,) finding the Indians continuing to make spoil upon the English plantacôns, it was ordered in Council that a considerable force should be raised, and the conduct of that expedicôn was offered upon very good terms to Major Generall Winthrop one of the Council; but he, unwilling to serve His native countrey, and others also refusing that command, the Governo^r undertook that difficult fategue in the depth of winter; and tho' by unusuall mildness of the winter the rivers and lakes were not frozen, so as his men could march after the Indians when and where he intended, yett they were wholly restrained from doing any dammage to the English townes, by severall forts built by him so advantageously, upon the rivers and passes. Upon the first frost he was out a week in the head of one hundred and twenty good men, marching a foot thro' dismall and almost impassable swamps, at which time were taken and destroyed about thirty Indian canoes. Some time after a party of one hundred and sixty men marched above one hundred and twenty miles right up into the countrey, in a deep snow, and burnt two Indian forts from whence they carried corne beaver^s ammunition and goods taken from English, and destroyed and brought away twenty eight Indian canoes, and reduced them to the use of their bows and arrows that they could not much longer hold out, but beg

beg their lives upon any termes, had not some merchants in Boston (Foster & Waterhouse) chiefe in this rebellion (during the Govern^{rs} absence from thence) sent a vessell of forty tunns with supplies of powder, shott, bread, Indian Corne and English linnen and woollen manufacture to trade with those Indians and the French, betweene Port Royall and Penobscott, who were alsoe in great want.

The Govern^r left the forces to the Eastward on the sixteenth of March and arrived in Boston about a week after, and as soon as those souldiers had notice of the disturbance in Boston, some forsooke, others revolted, seized upon their officers, and sent them bound prisoners heither; so that all that countrey, extending above forty leagues upon the sea shore, that was secured in their fishery and sawmills is now deserted and left to the ravage of the barbarous heathens, who are already come down, have destroyed and burnt some forts and severall dwelling houses and kill'd some of the people the miserable inhabitants, in no way capable to preserve themselves and cattle but by flight.

The French have above four thousand good men about Canada, ready for any designe. I expect that upon the newes of the Bostoners reassuming their old government (no care being taken for the out townes and Provinces) they will joyne with the Indians, and in a short time swallow and be masters of that part of the Countrey (not long since granted to the French West India Company by patent from their King,) and then being possessed of our best ports & harbours, be masters of all the great masts in New England and will infest the trade of other the English forraigne plantac^{ns}: the prevention whereof was one chiefe ground of putting all those petty governments under one generall Governour.

My Lords. Notwithstanding, all the pretensions of grievances menc^{ed} in their papers, and cries of oppression in the

the Govern^{rs} proceedings, it's not the person of S^r Edmund Andros, but the government itself, they designe to have removed, that they may freely trade; and therefore urge a necessity of His Ma^{ty}s grant for a new or confirming their old charter.

I take leave humbly to represent to yo^r Lordships that the bottom and plain truth of the whole matter of complaint against His Majesties immediate government from England arises upon the following reasons.

1st Because since the vacating their charter they have bin kept from the breach of the Acts for Trade and Navigac^on, encouraged by their former government to trade to France Holland Spaine Scotland and Ireland, bringing the commodities of those Kingdomes directly to Boston, paying only a small custome for the support of their own government, and alsoe carrying the plantac^on commodities directly to those kingdomes, without ever touching at or paying the customes in England as the law requires. They are restrained from setting out privateers who for many yeares together robbed the Spanish West Indies and brought great bootyes to Boston; and also they durst not during the Governour's time, harbour pyratts. This place was the common receptacle of pyratts of all nations.

2nd. About fiftene yeares agoe Captain l'Moin a Frenchman brought in, two or three very rich Dutch prizes worth above one hundred thousand pounds. M^r Richard Wharton one of the Agents soliciting for the Charter (if in England) was L'Moins Attorney. He was a great undertaker for pyratts and promoter of irregular trade. I forbear to trouble yo^r Lordships with the instances of any more pyratts who have bin received and p^rected by some now in the present government.

3^d They have bin restrained from tradeing with the French at Newfoundland by exp^ress order from the Com-
miconers,

micôners of His Matyes Customes, which very much enraged those merchants who traded in great quantities for brandy and other French goods, brought thither directly from France.

4 Their liberty of coining money is taken away which encouraged pyratts to bring their plate hither, because it could be coined and conveyed in great parcells undiscovered to be such. M^r Sewell another of the Agents attending in England was Master of the Mint, and a loofer by putting that down.

5th The Ministers, who in their Government were chiefe in advising and directing matters of publique import, as well in electing Magistrates as in makeing laws and what else did relate to the government, and now chiefe in contriving & setting on foot this generall revolt and subversion of the government; were not consulted with.

Their present practice since their revolt is a sufficient demonstracôn of what they intend to doe when they receive a Charter. They have already sett at liberty severall pyratts imprisoned in the common gaole, who robb'd a Spanish ship loaden with about four thousand Spanish hydes, money, plate, and rich commodities, which they brought into this countrey, murdered eight of the men, & brought with them two Spanish captives, who, with the confession of some in their company at sea, have made undeniable prooffe of it; and they have liberty to sell their hydes and go about their busines; since which the pyratts have sold the two Spanish witnesses in this towne.

Three privateers are now fitting out for the Spanish West Indies.

Five Ministers of Boston, viz^t Moode,⁸¹ Allen,⁸² Young, Mather,

⁸¹ Reverend Joshua Moody, a Congregational minister, originally of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and afterwards assistant of the first church in Boston,

graduated at Harvard in 1653, and died July 4, 1697, aged 64. — J. R. B.

⁸² Reverend James Allen, a graduate of Oxford, England, came to America in

Mather,⁸³ Willard,⁸⁴ and Milburn an Anabaptist Minister, were in the Councill Chamber on the eighteenth of Aprill when the Govern^r and myfelfe were brought out of the Fort before them, writeing orders, and were authors of some of their printed papers.

My Lords. I am kept very inhumanely and the Governour worfe, whose packett sent by expresse order from Whitehall and letters of both publick and private concernes of his and mine, are stop'd and open'd by S^r William Phips, who says the Govern^r is a rogue and shall not have his packetts nor letters, and pretends an order for so doing and keeps them from us. I humbly intreat the favour off your Lordships that I be not exposed here to the malice of those who, for my faithfull service to the Crowne for fourteen yeares in this country, are become my enemyes; but rather, if yo^r Lordships please, that they may be commanded to send over me and my accusers to England, to answer what they have to charge me with.

I have many things (relateing to the well being of this country) of great import to His Ma^{ties} service, which, being now a cloffe prisoner and all my papers and materiall writings kept from me, I am in no condition to transmitt to yo^r Lordships, but expect, with patience by your Lordships direccôns for a speedy opportunity for so doing.

All which is humbly submitted by

EDW. RANDOLPH.

From the Common Gaole in
Boston the 29. of May 1689.

Indorsed "Rec^d from Mr Randolph
"3 July. 1689."

in 1662. He died, while minister of the first Congregational church in Boston, September 22, 1710, aged 78 years. — J. R. B.

⁸³ Reverend Cotton Mather. — *Hutch.* — J. R. B.

⁸⁴ Reverend Samuel Willard, of the Old South Church, Boston, and President of Harvard College, where he graduated in 1659. Died Sept. 12, 1707, aged 68. — J. R. B.

[New York Historical Documents, vol. iii. p. 664.]

Edward Randolph to Major Brockholes.

Letter intercepted by Leisler from Mr Randolph to Major Brockholls.

COMMON GOAL Dec. 28. 1689.



RECEIVED this morning your letter of y^e 18th instant by w^{ch} I find that your rebbells are no changlings, & Leisler and his partners make true the proverb, sett beggars on horseback and they will ride to y^e Divell. I am well assured y^t y^e letters sent by Riggs ought to be putt in y^e hands of y^e Members of y^e Councill and y^e Justices of y^e peace; but its fallen out very unhappy for those who must live under y^e fury of a conceited rabble. Our people are much concerned to know what to do with us; they know if they send us home & have nothing to charge upon us, 'twill not sound well on their side. They meet in 2 or 3 dayes, they adjourn, and do nothing as they ought. The Governo^r and wee have wrote to them twise. I have wrot 2 letters in my own busines, & their wise worships give us no answere; they are at their old trade of wheedling at home, and delaying us here in hopes to gett their Charter; expecting y^t all gentⁿ even the Lords of y^e Councill who have formerly been for vacating their Charter, shall be putt out of their places. The Gov^r is of opinion wee shall be all sent speedily, but 2 or 3 shippes are now ready; they have embarg'd them for their pleasur^e. Capt George received orders to go for England and convoy home y^e 2 mafts ships, arrived at Piscataqua; he has laid his ship by y^e wharfe, taken out her gunns and powder (a very scarc comodity

comodity here) I feare he will meet with trouble from his men, when he cannot keep them aboard, and y^e fame men who made them mutiny before, are as ready (as ever) to y^e like or worfe damage to him and his ship upon y^e first occasion. Sir, God fend us well to England; I will not omitt y^e commands relating to y^e pay of your Companyes, nor any thing which falls in my power to be serviceable to your conerne at home or in New York. My humble service to y^r Lady⁸⁵ and to Col: Bayard. I shall be glad to receive a letter from you directed to me at y^e Plantation Office. Wishing health and a happy settlement to your Province and to all your affaires,

I am S^r your assured friend & serv^t EDW. RANDOLPH.

My service to Coll: Dongan &
Coll. Smith when you see him

To Major Brockholes at
New York. Present.

[R. I. Records, iii. 339.]

⁸⁶ Extract from a letter to the Board of Trade.

"BOSTON May the 30th, 1698.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS:



WROTE to the Board very largely from New York, to which I humbly refer your Lordships. I left that place the 21st instant and came to Rhode Island the 24th following; when Walter Clarke (a Quaker) being severall years Governor, quitted the place

⁸⁵ Juffrou Sufanna Shrick (2 New York Historical Society's Collections, i. 395). — J. R. B. showing, perhaps, the latest connection of Randolph with Boston. His signature shows his office as Surveyor-General.

⁸⁶ We print this extract mainly as

place because he would not take the oath enjoined him by the Acts of Trade; and Samuel Cranston (Clarke's nephew) is Governor there to the same end as Mr Markham is Governor in Pennsylvania, only to take the Oaths enjoined by the Act for preventing frauds."

* * * * *

"All which is humbly submitted to your Lordships by your Honors most humble servant

E. RANDOLPH, S. G.





CONCLUSION.



⁸⁷IN closing the third volume of Andros's Tracts, we have to say that a great amount of curious and interesting material still remains unpublished. Our aim has been to present chiefly the tracts and pamphlets which were issued during the Inter-Charter Period, with such documents as illustrated those discussions. The Archives of the State contain many other documents of prime importance; but a proper publication of them would be a task too great for any association like the Prince Society to undertake. It is certainly to be hoped that the State will soon appreciate the value of its documents, and will publish at least a synopsis of its volumes.





THE PRINCE SOCIETY.



Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND
SEVENTY-FOUR.

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court
assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :*

SECTION 1. John Ward Dean, J. Wingate Thornton, Edmund F. Slafter, and Charles W. Tuttle, their associates and successors, are made a corporation by the name of the PRINCE SOCIETY, for the purpose of preserving and extending the knowledge of American History, by editing and printing such manuscripts, rare tracts, and volumes as are mostly confined in their use to historical students and public libraries.

SECTION 2. Said corporation may hold real and personal estate to an amount not exceeding thirty thousand dollars.

SECTION 3. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

Approved March 18, 1874.

NOTE. — The Prince Society was organized on the 25th of May, 1858. What was undertaken as an experiment has proved successful. This ACT OF INCORPORATION has been obtained to enable the Society better to fulfil its object, in its expanding growth.



THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. — This Society shall be called THE PRINCE SOCIETY ; and it shall have for its object the publication of rare works, in print or manuscript, relating to America.

ARTICLE II. — The officers of the Society shall be a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, and a Treafurer ; who together shall form the Council of the Society.

ARTICLE III. — Members may be added to the Society on the recommendation of any member and a confirmatory vote of a majority of the Council.

Libraries and other Institutions may hold membership, and be represented by an authorized agent.

All members shall be entitled to and shall accept the volumes printed by the Society, as they are issued from time to time, at the prices fixed by the Council ; and membership shall be forfeited by a refusal or neglect so to accept the said volumes.

Any person may terminate his membership by resignation addressed in writing to the President ; provided, however, that he shall have previously paid for all volumes issued by the Society after the date of his election as a member.

ARTICLE IV. — The management of the Society's affairs shall be vested in the Council, which shall keep a faithful record of its proceedings,

The Prince Society.

proceedings, and report the same to the Society annually, at its General Meeting in May.

ARTICLE V.—On the anniversary of the birth of the Rev. Thomas Prince, — namely, on the twenty-fifth day of May, in every year (but if this day shall fall on Sunday or a legal holiday, on the following day), — a General Meeting shall be held at Boston, in Massachusetts, for the purpose of electing officers, hearing the report of the Council, auditing the Treasurer's account, and transacting other business.

ARTICLE VI.—The officers shall be chosen by the Society annually, at the General Meeting; but vacancies occurring between the General Meetings may be filled by the Council.

ARTICLE VII.—By-Laws for the more particular government of the Society may be made or amended at any General Meeting.

ARTICLE VIII.—Amendments to the Constitution may be made at the General Meeting in May, by a three-fourths vote, provided that a copy of the same be transmitted to every member of the Society, at least two weeks previous to the time of voting thereon.



C O U N C I L.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. THE Society shall be administered on the mutual principle, and solely in the interest of American history.
2. A volume shall be issued as often as practicable, but not more frequently than once a year.
3. An editor of each work to be issued shall be appointed, who shall be a member of the Society, whose duty it shall be to prepare, arrange, and conduct the same through the press; and, as he will necessarily be placed under obligations to scholars and others for

The Prince Society.

for assistance, and particularly for the loan of rare books, he shall be entitled to receive ten copies, to enable him to acknowledge and return any courtesies which he may have received.

4. All editorial work and official service shall be performed gratuitously.

5. All contracts connected with the publication of any work shall be laid before the Council in distinct specifications in writing, and be adopted by a vote of the Council, and entered in a book kept for that purpose ; and, when the publication of a volume is completed, its whole expense shall be entered, with the items of its cost in full, in the same book. No member of the Council shall be a contractor for doing any part of the mechanical work of the publications.

6. The price of each volume shall be a hundredth part of the cost of the edition, or as near to that as conveniently may be ; and there shall be no other assessments levied upon the members of the Society.

7. A sum, not exceeding six hundred dollars, may be held by the Council as a working capital ; and, when the balance in the treasury shall exceed that sum, the excess shall be divided, from time to time, among the members of the Society, by remitting either a part or the whole cost of a volume, as may be deemed expedient.

8. All moneys belonging to the Society shall be deposited in the New England Trust Company in Boston, unless some other banking institution shall be designated by a vote of the Council ; and said moneys shall be entered in the name of the Society, subject to the order of the Treasurer.

9. It shall be the duty of the President to call the Council together, whenever it may be necessary for the transaction of business, and to preside at its meetings.

10. It shall be the duty of the Vice-Presidents to authorize all bills before their payment, to make an inventory of the property
of

The Prince Society.

of the Society during the month preceding the annual meeting, and to report the same to the Council, and to audit the accounts of the Treasurer.

11. It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to issue all general notices to the members, and to conduct the general correspondence of the Society.

12. It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to keep a complete record of the proceedings both of the Society and of the Council, in a book provided for that purpose.

13. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to forward to the members bills for the volumes, as they are issued; to superintend the sending of the books; to pay all bills authorized and indorsed by at least two Vice-Presidents of the Society; and to keep an accurate account of all moneys received and disbursed.

14. No books shall be forwarded by the Treasurer to any member until the amount of the price fixed for the same shall have been received; and any member neglecting to forward the said amount for one month after his notification, shall forfeit his membership.





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Amherst College Library	Amherst, Mass.
Boston Athenæum	Boston, Mass.
Boston Library Society	Boston, Mass.
British Museum	London, Eng.
Concord Public Library	Concord, Mass.
Free Public Library	Worcester, Mass.
Grosvenor Library	Buffalo, N.Y.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia, Pa.
Long Island Historical Society	Brooklyn, N.Y.
Massachusetts Historical Society	Boston, Mass.
Mercantile Library	New York, N.Y.
New England Historic Genealogical Society	Boston, Mass.
Newburyport Public Library, Peabody Fund	Newburyport, Mass.
Public Library of the City of Boston	Boston, Mass.
Redwood Library	Newport, R.I.
State Library of Massachusetts	Boston, Mass.
State Library of New York	Albany, N.Y.
State Library of Rhode Island	Providence, R.I.
State Library of Vermont	Montpelier, Vt.
Williams College Library	Williamstown, Mass.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

NEW ENGLAND'S PROSPECT.

A true, lively and experimentall description of that part of *America*, commonly called Nevv England: discovering the State of that Countrie, both as it stands to our new-come *English* Planters; and to the old Native Inhabitants. BY WILLIAM WOOD. London, 1634. Preface by Charles Deane, LL.D.

THE HUTCHINSON PAPERS.

A Collection of Original Papers relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay. Reprinted from the edition of 1769. Edited by William H. Whitmore, A.M., and William S. Appleton, A.M. 2 vols.

JOHN DUNTON'S LETTERS FROM NEW ENGLAND.

Letters written from New England A.D. 1686. By John Dunton in which are described his voyages by Sea, his travels on land, and the characters of his friends and acquaintances. Now first published from the original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library. Oxford. Edited by William H. Whitmore, A.M..

THE ANDROS TRACTS.

Being a Collection of Pamphlets and Official Papers issued during the period between the overthrow of the Andros Government and the establishment of the second Charter of Massachusetts. Reprinted from the original editions and manuscripts. With a Memoir of Sir Edmund Andros, by the editor, William H. Whitmore, A.M. 3 vols.

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER AND AMERICAN COLONIZATION.

Including three Royal Charters, issued in 1621, 1625, 1628; a Tract entitled an Encouragement to Colonies, by Sir William Alexander, 1624; a Patent, from the Great Council for New England, of Long Island, and a part of the present State of Maine; a Roll of the Knights Baronets of New Scotland; with a Memoir of Sir William Alexander, by the editor, the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A M.

NOTE. — Communications for officers of the Prince Society may be directed to 18 SOMERSET STREET, BOSTON.



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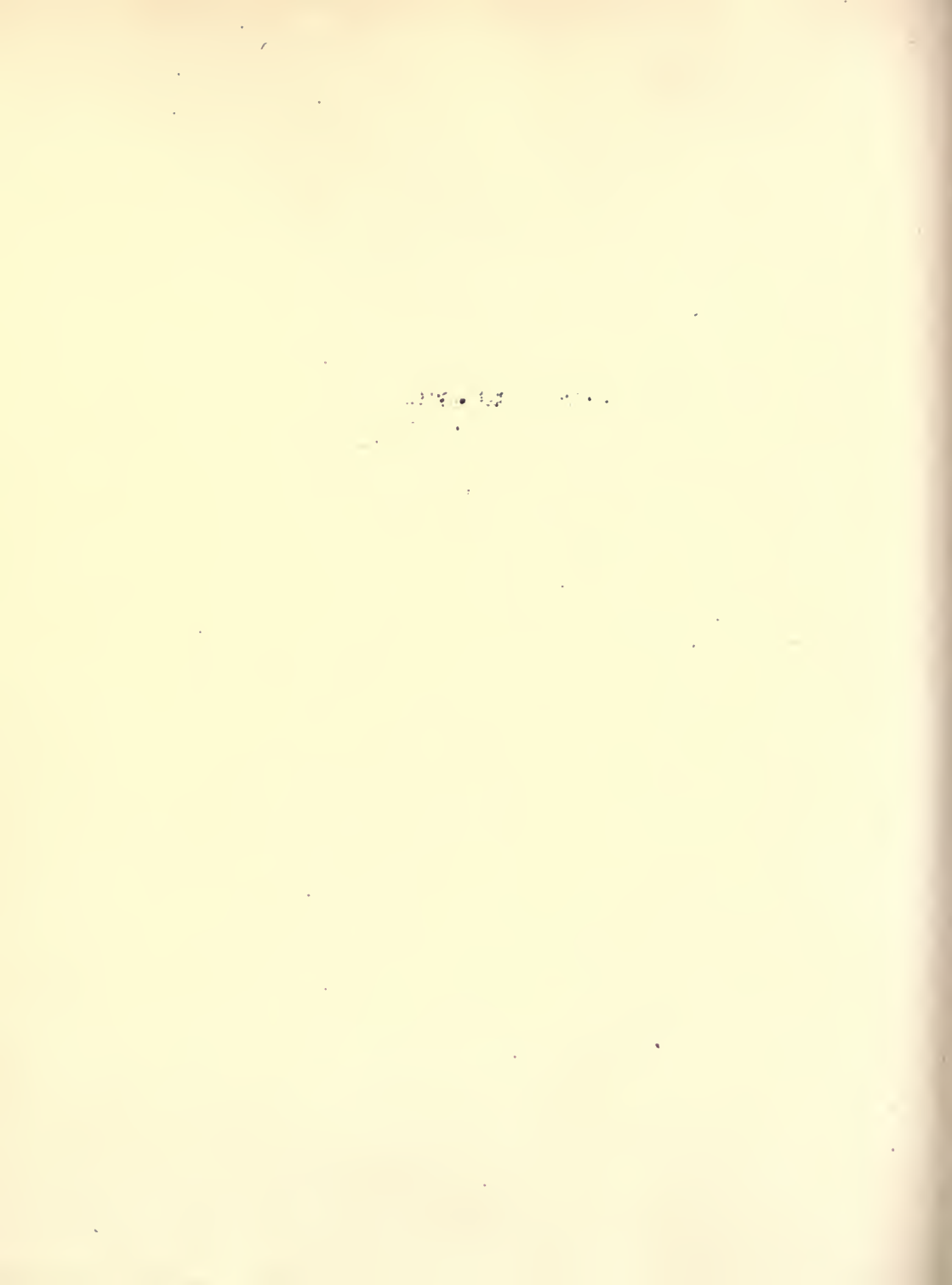
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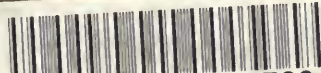
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